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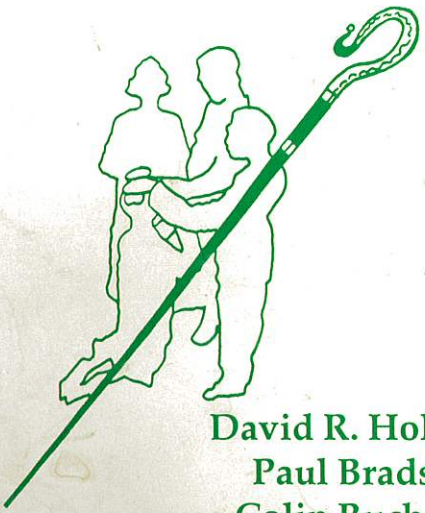
# Anglican Orders and Ordinations:



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39

# Anglican Orders and Ordinations:

Essays and Reports from the Interim Conference at Jarvenpää, Finland, of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation, 4—9 August 1997

edited by David R. Holeton

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**THE ALCUIN CLUB and the GROUP FOR RENEWAL OF WORSHIP (GROW)**

The Alcuin Club, which exists to promote the study of Christian liturgy in general and of Anglican liturgy in particular, traditionally published a single volume annually for its members. This ceased in 1986 but resumed in 1992. Similarly, GROW was responsible from 1975 to 1986 for the quarterly 'Grove Liturgical Studies'. Since the beginning of 1987 the two have sponsored a Joint Editorial Board to produce 'Joint Liturgical Studies', of which the present Study is no. 39. Three titles are produced each year, and existing Studies are listed on page 64.

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# 1. Introduction

by David R. Holeton

When it was decided that ordination would be the primary topic for the Interim Conference of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation to be held in Jarvenpää, Finland from 4-9 August 1997, the Steering Committee was conscious that it was following a pattern set by the most important multilateral ecumenical document of our age—the Lima Document: *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* [BEM]. Having prepared the statement 'Walk in Newness of Life' on baptism at its Toronto Consultation in 1991 and the 'Dublin Statement' on the Eucharist at its Consultation in 1995, ordination was the next logical focus for the work of the IALC.

Following its present practice of alternating Interim Conferences with meetings of the full Consultation—in which the Conference is preparatory for the Consultation—over forty liturgists from around the Communion turned their attention to preparing material that would serve to stimulate reflection and discussion throughout the Communion. The reports of the four working groups represent the week's work at Jarvenpää and they are provisional documents reflecting work in progress. They will serve as one resource for the 1998 Lambeth Conference, and for those who gather for IALC-6 in 1999 when a statement on ordination will be prepared.

During the Conference, participants discovered that there were some issues on which consensus was easily and quickly achieved. There were other areas which were more controversial and on which further discussion must take place before any consensus can emerge. There were also a number of areas that need discussion and, while noted by participants, yet remain to be addressed. The careful reader will see these different levels of development within the report of the working groups.

Areas where consensus was easily achieved included matters like the firm grounding of any reflection on ministry and ordination in a baptismal ecclesiology as well as the incorporation of an articulation of apostolic/historic succession within an understanding of the apostolicity of the whole church. Significantly, consensus in these matters would unlikely have been possible a generation ago, something that reflects a development within Anglicanism in several respects. This reflects a renewed baptismal theology that has become a part of Anglican life over the past quarter century as well as a broader understanding of the apostolicity of the whole church. The latter is an area in which Anglicans have been helped to re-think their theology of ministry, through both the reception of BEM and our bilateral dialogues with churches which do not claim to have the 'historic episcopate'.

The question of the restoration of the diaconate as a full and equal order, for example, was another issue around which consensus easily emerged. The corollary, however,—that this will only happen when the church ceases to use the diaconate as a transitional order for those who are soon to be priests—was a matter on which further discussion needs to take place.

There were a number of areas that were raised in Jarvenpää but which need much more extensive discussion. For example, there are questions of language: e.g. should 'presbyter' be preferred to 'priest' or the other way around? And, while the possible shape and content of ordination liturgies received considerable attention, much work needs to be done to move the series of questions found in § 30-38 of the working group reports into a statement that will be of use to those who are responsible for drafting new ordination rites in their Provinces. These issues will be sure to take their rightful place on the Consultation's agenda for 1999.

Along with the report of the working groups, this volume contains a number of other papers. Paul Bradshaw's chapter was presented as the keynote address of the Conference and did much to provide stimulation and direction for the week. His thesis that theory has triumphed over evidence in the development of ordination rites is one that challenges Anglicans to re-think a number of questions pertaining to ordained ministry, starting from basic principles.

Colin Buchanan's chapter is a synthesis of two papers he wrote as resources for the Conference's participants. Guided, in part, by the ecumenical concerns of our own age, he gives a perspective on the history of Anglican ordination practice that raises important questions about possible ways forward in our ecclesiology, our practice of ordination, and our ecumenical relationships.

John Gibaut's chapter is also a revision of work prepared as a resource for the Conference. It is of particular importance for IALC-6 as it provides significant historical background for the discussion of direct ordination. Anglicans should find it freeing to learn that the practice of the church has been much more pluriform than is generally accepted. Thanks to this chapter, we are given the possibility to re-think our present practice of sequential ordination in a much wider context. In preparing for IALC-6, Anglicans need to reflect on their rationale for continuing the *cursus honorum* rather than ordaining directly. It will be clear from Professor Gibaut's chapter that such a rationale will need to do more than simply appeal to 'tradition'—whether Anglican or that of the 'undivided Catholic Church'—neither of which will support it.

Several essays arose out of discussions at Jarvenpää in which it became clear that the context in which we were discussing ministry and ordination had evolved tremendously in the past few decades. In her chapter, Janet Crawford outlines the evolution of the practice of ministry in New Zealand. This is one example of a process that is going on in many parts of the Communion. A variety of factors have coalesced to raise serious questions about our methods of selection and preparation of candidates for ministry. The ordination of women, new patterns of ecumenically shared ministry, economic crises, the democratization of the church and the implication of civil labour codes are among many factors which have recast some of the basic questions surrounding our inherited practices as Anglicans. These will play an important role in any document on ministry for the coming millennium.

Kevin Flynn's chapter on the diaconate raises another important issue that must be faced in addressing questions of ordination. Partly because ordination has been seen for so long as a clerical preserve, there has been a gradual confusion of the theology of ordination with a clerical 'piety of ordination'. While it is laudable that the clergy have developed a 'spirituality of office', some of its dimensions do not stand the test of historical and theological reflection. The common confusion of many between the diaconia of all the baptized, the order of deacon, and the status and appropriate vesture of others exercising liturgical ministries that have traditionally been those of deacons needs considerable clarification. As they begin to untangle these issues, Anglicans would be helped to unmuddle their understanding of the order of deacon if they stopped engaging in the practice of dressing priests (and, occasionally, bishops) in the liturgical vesture of deacons. This practice, which is uncanonical in both Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches and a relative novelty within Anglicanism itself, frustrates attempts to restore the vocational diaconate and can lead to considerable confusion in our ecumenical dialogues.

Clericalism is a serious sin because it reflects a model of the church which denies the status we have been given in baptism. When Anglicans celebrate the rites of ordination, however, they often model a clericalism that belies our baptismal theology, betrays the general principles of liturgical reform to which our provinces are committed and flies in

the face of what the ordination rites themselves proclaim about the ministry of the whole People of God. Such dissonance between what we say and what we do cannot remain unchallenged. Louis Weil's chapter addresses one dimension of this problem and serves as a very helpful starting point for a reflection on the celebration of ordination. Any attempt to reform our rites will fail to serve the common life of our Communion unless the visual clutter and clericalized character of the actual celebration of ordination is satisfactorily addressed. May the day soon come when the celebration of our ordination liturgies clearly proclaim who we claim to be as a baptized, priestly people where ministry is shared by all and not a possession of the clergy.

The Ministry portion of BEM was the most difficult portion of the statement to create and members of the drafting committee sometimes found themselves passing over some areas in silence because no consensus could be achieved. It should be little surprise that this initial discussion on ordination by the IALC also had difficulties achieving consensus in some areas and left others unaddressed. Reconciling our understandings of ministry is often a very painful process because it is on this very matter that churches have most often 'unchurched' one another, calling into question the validity of the ministry of one another and, consequently, their status as church. My own paper is an attempt to address some of these issues as they focus on apostolicity and 'historic succession' as they are coming to be understood within Anglicanism.

The Jarvenpää Conference made considerable progress towards an IALC statement on ordination. The areas where consensus was achieved were significant both for the Communion and for our ecumenical relations. It will be clear, however, from the report of the working groups and the accompanying papers that there are a number of issues which Anglicans must resolve among themselves if there is to be a coherent understanding of ordination within the Communion and if they are to present themselves with integrity in their dialogues with other churches. The Jarvenpää Conference was one step towards that end. It is to be hoped that the report of the working groups and accompanying papers will be read and discussed widely. It is important that those who attend the 1999 Consultation come with a sense of where the life of their provinces is on these matters and how the deliberations of the IALC on questions around ordination affect them.

# 2. Ordination as God's Action through the Church

by Paul Bradshaw

The history of the study of ordination rites more than amply demonstrates the dire consequences of allowing theory to triumph over evidence, of letting preconceived notions determine the outcome of supposedly dispassionate analysis of texts. For example, the decision to include ordination among the seven sacraments of the Church in the high middle ages meant that it had to conform to all the requirements of a sacrament that were laid down by the scholastic theologians, that a precise 'matter' and 'form' which effected the sacrament had to be found within the rites. One of the serious repercussions of this was that all attention became focused narrowly upon one part of the rite as essential, and the rest dismissed as merely ancillary. Because of the long running controversy with Roman Catholics over the validity of our orders, we Anglicans have been strongly drawn into this way of thinking, and even recent revisions of rites in various parts of the Communion have not managed to extricate us from it. Although ostensibly reverting to the idea of an ordination prayer accompanying the imposition of hands as constituting the heart of the rite, yet in reality we have remained wedded to the vital importance of the words of a particular formula being said while hands are laid on each individual ordinand. The theology that the performance of the rites reveals is that of 'consecration by formula', of a 'moment of ordination', whatever the actual beliefs of the compilers may have been.[1]

Even if we were to take more seriously the claim in the preface to the earliest Anglican Ordinals, that admission to any ecclesiastical office should be 'by publique prayer with imposicion of handes', we would not have completely succeeded in recapturing the concept of ordination held by Christians in the first few centuries of the Church's existence.[2] For them, 'prayer' referred not just to an ordination prayer alone, as it tends to do for us, but to the prayer offered by the whole gathered community, to which the ordination prayer as such constituted the culmination and climax. Thus, for them, the involvement of the people in an ordination service was no optional extra, with which one could if necessary dispense without affecting the character of the rite; ordination was not an essentially episcopal act to which friends and family might be invited, but a rite celebrated by the whole Church — bishop, clergy, and people together, each playing their respective and equally important roles.

Nor did they at first distinguish, as we now do, between what we would see as the preliminaries of appointment to ecclesiastical office on the one hand and the liturgical rite proper on the other, and regard the latter alone as that which made someone into a bishop, presbyter, or deacon. They would not have viewed how a person arrived at the liturgical occasion as being entirely incidental to the validity of the act, but instead seen election and

[1] See further Paul F. Bradshaw, 'The Liturgical Consequences of *Apostolicae Curae* for Anglican Ordination Rites' in *Anglican Theological Review* 78 (1996), pp.75-86 = R. W. Franklin (ed.), *Anglican Orders: Essays on the Centenary of Apostolicae Curae 1896-1996* (Mowbray, London, 1996), pp.75-86.

[2] English translations of all extant early ordination rites can be found in Paul F. Bradshaw, *Ordination Rites of the Ancient Churches of East and West* (Pueblo, New York, 1990).

prayer as two parts of the same whole. Indeed, the Greek word which we translate as 'ordain', *cheirotoneo*, originally meant 'to raise the hand in order to elect' and was only later seen as referring to the ritual gesture of laying the hand on the ordinand. Although some of the sixteenth-century Continental reformers did manage to recover the insight that election and prayer essentially went together[1], it is not one that has managed to penetrate into Anglican thinking on the subject, let alone make its mark on liturgical practice.

### ORDINATION AS PROCESS

If, therefore, the insights and practices of early Christianity have something valuable to contribute to our own thinking about ordained ministry, we need to expand our field of vision considerably. We need to regard ordination as essentially a process and not merely a rite, a process accomplished over time and not just in a brief sacramental moment, a process that begins with the Church's discernment of God's call to an individual for a particular ministry within a specific Christian community, continues with the community's prayer for the bestowal of the gifts and graces necessary for the effective discharge of that office, and culminates in the acceptance by the people of the new minister's role among them, expressed in their assent to his or her performance of the liturgical functions belonging to the particular office.

Let me say a little more about each of these stages. First, the discernment of God's call may legitimately come about through a variety of means: election by the local community may have been the standard early Christian practice for choosing a bishop, but it is not the only way in which God's will can be made manifest. According to Acts 1, for instance, lots were cast to determine who should be the successor to Judas in the Twelve—though that is not a practice that I would particularly recommend for regular use today! But, however it is done, it is vital to keep in mind that it is God's call that makes someone a minister, and not the Church's liturgy. As the Church of South India's Constitution and preface to its ordination rites affirm, in all ordinations the true ordainer and consecrator is God. All that the Church can do is to discern and ratify the action that God has already taken. When the person comes to the ordination service, therefore, it is not in order to be made a minister but to have God's appointment recognized, and the rites need to make this clear in some way. In ancient Roman practice, for instance, it was expressed visually by the ordinand being presented already vested in the robes of the order to which he was being admitted, and not having them put on at the end as though the change had taken place during the rite. In Eastern traditions, it was—and is—expressed verbally by the proclamation of the result of the election at the beginning; in the Byzantine rite it reads: 'The divine grace, which always heals what is infirm and supplies what is lacking, appoints [the presbyter] N., beloved by God, as [bishop].' It is unfortunate that later, through misunderstanding, the imposition of hands came to be performed while this was being read, and still more unfortunate that western scholars took it to be the essential scholastic 'form' of ordination—another example of the triumph of theory over the evidence itself.

Secondly, we need to pause to note the expression 'a particular ministry within a specific Christian community'. The early Church knew nothing of the idea of ordinations 'at large', and one could not be ordained 'absolutely' as a bishop, presbyter, or deacon in the universal Church, but had to be appointed to a specific, vacant ministerial role within an individual

[1] See for example Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Anglican Ordinal: Its history and development from the Reformation to the present day* (SPCK, London, 1971), pp.39-40.

Christian community.[1] The remnants of this tradition linger on in the idea of the necessity of an ecclesiastical 'title'. It is unfortunate, therefore, that many modern rites stress strongly the notion of ordination being to the Church universal, and some make no explicit reference at all to the place in which the individual is to serve, even at the presentation of the candidate, where it would be most naturally expected. Thus, for example, we commonly have the spectacle of two bishops bringing forward a candidate for the episcopate with the words, 'Reverend Father in God, we present to you N. to be ordained as a bishop in the Church.' This practice conveys the unfortunate expression that it is membership of the episcopal college rather than the service of a diocese that is the main point of ordaining a bishop, and offers infelicitous parallels to nomination to an exclusive golf club by two existing members. Thus it matters not only what is said at the presentation but who the presenters are: do they really represent those responsible for discerning the divine call of the candidate and the local church in which he or she will minister? Rootedness in a particular community is the very means by which an individual Christian is connected to the universal Church, and ordination rites ought to articulate this vision more clearly.

Thirdly, in the light of what we have said above, greater emphasis needs to be given to the prayer of the community in ordination rites. This is not to undermine the importance of the ordination prayer proper, but to recognize that such prayer should always be set within the wider context of community prayer, to which it forms the climax and conclusion. Prayer by the assembled community prayer is not a mere preliminary to the 'real thing', but as much a part of the 'form' of ordination as the ordination prayer itself. Whether it is conducted in silence, by means of a litany, in the form of a hymn of invocation, or any combination of these elements, it should be accorded its proper dignity within the rite, and introduced by an appropriately worded bidding that expresses the theological conviction that ordination is an act of God working through the whole Church and not just through the bishop alone.

Fourthly, attention also needs to be paid to the wording of the ordination prayer proper. It should be noted that in my definition of the process of ordination, I described the prayer as one 'for the bestowal of the gifts and graces necessary for the effective discharge of the office', for this is how it is in nearly all ancient rites. The idea that the prayer is intended to bestow the office itself upon the candidate, to make him a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, is scarcely ever found in the oldest strata of ordination prayers of the East or the West. The vast majority of ancient rites take the view that the person has already been made bishop, presbyter, or deacon through the process of election just completed, and that what is happening now is that God is being asked to endue the new minister with whatever is needed to enable him to fulfil his calling fruitfully. It is, therefore, somewhat analogous to the act of prayer and blessing in a traditional marriage rite, which follows—rather than precedes or effects—the joining of the couple in matrimony. Furthermore, the listing of the particular powers and functions of the office is similarly rare in ancient ordination prayers. Instead the minister's role is often defined by analogy with Old or New Testament types, and what God is asked to bestow are the appropriate spiritual qualities to equip him for the ministry which he has just begun.

This may be the point at which to say a word about the laying on of hands. As I indicated earlier, recent Anglican revisions have attempted to bring prayer and the imposition of

[1] On this see further Edward Schillebeeckx, *The Church with a Human Face* (SCM, London, 1985), pp.154-156; C. Vogel, 'Vacua manus impositio: L'inconsistance de la chirotonie absolue en Occident' in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R. P. Dom Bernard Botte* (Louvain, 1972), pp.511-524.

hands together once more, as in early Christian practice. However, because the imposition of hands is generally only done during one particular sentence of the prayer, and that sentence alone is repeated for each candidate when more than one person is being ordained at a time, the impression given is that it is this particular formula of words that effects the ordination, and not the whole prayer. Indeed, it often seems as though there are three prayers here rather than one: a prayer of praise, a petition for the Holy Spirit (repeated), and a concluding collect. This way of doing things has no ancient precedent, but first emerged in the Church of South India in 1958, was copied in the ordinal of the abortive Anglican-Methodist reunion scheme in England in 1968, and from there found its way into the rites of many Anglican provinces as well as into the British Methodist rite of 1985. Attention therefore needs to be given to ways in which this unfortunate appearance might be reduced if not eliminated. At the very least, the laying on of hands might be prolonged beyond the single petition for the gift of the Holy Spirit. And although it is probably a forlorn hope now to try to eliminate from Anglican practice the 'rugby scrum' that occurs as each bishop or presbyter present tries to touch the candidate personally, it is perhaps just worth noting in passing that in the earliest traditions of both East and West about which we know, it was generally only the presiding bishop who actually laid his hand (hand, singular, not hands) on candidates for both the episcopate and the presbyterate, the directions of the so-called *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus not withstanding. For the others, simply being there was enough to express their concurrence in the action.

Just as the prayer of the people can be overshadowed by the importance given to the ordination prayer that follows it, so too the centrality of prayer in the rite can be diminished by the wealth of secondary symbolism that frequently follows the ordination prayer and thus, in performance if not in intention, constitutes the climax of the act. The handing over of Bibles, patens, chalices, vestments, and other insignia of office is reminiscent of so many other occasions in life—from Sunday School prize-givings to university degree ceremonies—where similar actions are the central feature, that it is difficult for people to avoid viewing ordination in the same light. But ordination is different from those occcasions. It is not the achievement of success, graduation, or promotion, and so once again resemblance to such events is unhelpful.

One of the strange consequences of this proliferation of secondary features in modern Anglican rites is that the oldest and most significant of them—the exchange of a kiss between the newly ordained and the Christian community—becomes lost within this wealth of later accretions, and often appears merely as the regular exchange of the Peace at the resumption of the eucharistic rite rather than as the highly symbolic conclusion of the ordination itself. In ancient practice it functioned as a 'sealing' of the whole process: the bishop initiated it by greeting the newly ordained with a kiss, and the rest of the clergy and people then followed suit, in order to give symbolic expression of their acceptance of the new minister, which is a vital part of the whole ordination process. This acceptance was further demonstrated by their sharing together in the celebration of the eucharist that followed, with the newly ordained performing the liturgical functions assigned to their order. Thus, in order not to overshadow the centrality of prayer, and to enable this greeting to stand out as the appropriate conclusion of the process and as the bridge to the sharing of eucharistic fellowship, most of the other ceremonies could profitably be displaced to a post-communion position. There they could form part of a 'missio' unit, sending the newly ordained out to serve in their ministry, while any vesting could be placed after the greeting and before the eucharistic action began, so that it would be more evident that the purpose of assuming these garments was to perform the particular liturgical duties in the eucharist.

## A DIVERSITY OF MINISTRIES

The scholastic definition of ordination as one of the sacraments of the Church that had to conform in all its essentials to the pattern imposed on the other sacraments was preceded several centuries earlier by another piece of imposed standardization on the diversity of orders within the Church. St Paul's image of the Church as the body of Christ had included the vision of all its members exercising different but complementary ministries within it. It is true that in 1 Corinthians 12.28 he accords a degree of precedence to certain of the ministries over others: 'And God has appointed in the Church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, then healers, helpers, administrators, speakers in various kinds of tongues.' However, his aim appears to be to suggest not that some are more important than others—the whole context in which this verse is set suggests exactly the opposite—but that certain ministries carry within them a leadership role in the Christian community, principally those that involve the proclamation of the word in one form or another.

By the time that we reach the third century the range of publicly recognized ministries within the Church has undergone a considerable contraction since St Paul's days. And that, I believe, is to be regretted. Yet there still remains some sense of complementarity rather than strict hierarchy. Thus deacons might be elected directly to the episcopate without having to become presbyters first; and in the listing of ecclesiastical offices widows might still be granted an honoured place, and readers mentioned before subdeacons rather than after, as was the later practice. Gradually, however, influenced greatly by the social structures of the ancient world around, a fixed hierarchy of ministries became established, arranged according to the extent of their liturgical, and especially sacramental, functions. This development was accompanied by the expectation that candidates for the higher offices would always pass through lower ones first. As John Gibaut has shown in his fine doctoral dissertation on the *cursus honorum* (as this pattern is known),[1] the original intention of this arrangement was to ensure that they could receive a substantial period of testing and training in these less onerous roles before being exposed to the demands of the positions of greater leadership. But in the course of time, this practical purpose was forgotten, and it came to be thought that ordination to each individual order was absolutely necessary before a person could proceed to the next one above. In other words, with the different orders now being thought of as successive rungs on a single ladder, it was considered essential that candidates should tread on every single rung, however briefly, rather than only spending time on one of them. Completion of the ritual stages had taken precedence over the need to gain relevant experience. Theory had once again triumphed over practice.

We need, therefore, to recover a greater sense of the complementarity of the different orders of ministry within the Church, and of the distinctiveness of the role which each one plays within the whole. If we truly believe in three separate orders of ordained ministry, rather than three different degrees within one ministry, then we must cease to define everything in terms of the presbyterate alone, and we must not rule out the possibility of direct ordination to any of the orders. A deacon is not merely a trainee presbyter (though it may still be appropriate for many presbyters to serve as deacons first in order to gain experience) and a bishop is not merely a super-presbyter (though it will nearly always be appropriate for a bishop to have served as a presbyter first). This way of thinking arose in

[1] John Gibaut, 'The Cursus Honorum: A Study of the Early and Medieval Development of the Clerical Cursus and its Significance for the Contemporary Church' (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1993).

the Middle Ages when ordained ministry came to be determined primarily in terms of its relation to the eucharist. Since the presbyter had received at his ordination the power of offering the eucharistic sacrifice, the *potestas in corpus eucharisticum*, he was thought of as possessing the fullness of ordained ministry. Hence most, though not all, medieval theologians concluded that the episcopate could not be a separate order from the presbyterate but only a *dignitas* or degree within the same order, having the power of rule or government in the Church, the *potestas in corpus mysticum*.

Remnants of this way of thinking linger on today, even among those who would not regard themselves as particularly high sacramentalists. It can be seen, for example, in the tendency to say that the reason why we need more priests is so that we can provide for the more frequent celebration of the eucharist in parishes. Or again, it can be seen in the tendency to robe lay people who assist with the administration of Holy Communion and to seat them in the sanctuary, but toleave lay people who read the lessons in their own clothes and to seat them in the nave—a clear if sometimes unintentional sign of the greater importance attached to sacrament than to word.

The ordained ministry, however, does not exist principally to perform sacramental functions for the Christian community, and the reason why we need more presbyters is not first and foremost so that we can have more eucharists. Ordination brings order, structure, to the Church, and the ordained ministry provides recognized and recognizable leadership to the body of Christ. Bishops and presbyters exercise that leadership at different levels within the Church. And it is because they preside over the Christian community that they preside over its worship (and not the other way round), and because they have the responsibility to preserve the community in truth that they are its principal ministers of the word. Once again, ordination rites need to articulate this vision more clearly than they tend to do at the moment. At the same time, they need to recover a greater sense of the distinctive character of the diaconate, rather than relegating it to the level of trainee presbyter or liturgical functionary. Although even the early Church apparently had problems in defining exactly what the role of deacons was, if we are to judge by the vague wording of its diaconal ordination prayers, yet the chief enduring characteristic of the diaconate has been responsibility for the Church's pastoral outreach, especially towards the poor and needy. Any liturgical functions which it exercises should flow out of this primary focus.

### ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

Not only is it important to recover the sense of the complementarity of the different forms of ordained ministry to one another, it is equally vital to reconsider the relationship between the ministries of the ordained and those exercised by the lay members of the Church. The clerical-lay divide is something unknown in the Pauline concept of Christian ministry, and it emerges only slowly in the life of the early Church. It receives its most decisive push, however, from the attribution of priesthood to the ordained, and to this development we must now turn our attention.

In the New Testament, as is well known, sacerdotal imagery is never attached to any particular ministry within the Church, but only to Jesus himself in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and to the Christian community as whole in passages in 1 Peter and the Book of Revelation. This usage was continued in the second century. Christians were thought of as constituting 'the true high-priestly race of God',[1] whose principal sacrifice was the

[1] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 116.3; see also Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* IV.8.3; V.34.3.

oblation of their whole lives, in line with such New Testament passages as Romans 12.1: 'I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship.' Within this offering of life, the explicit occasions of worship, both eucharistic and non-eucharistic alike, formed a particular focus. There Christians offered their sacrifice of praise and made priestly intercession for the needs of the world. This idea of the Christian priesthood persisted in the centuries that followed. Thus, for example, Tertullian[1] and other later sources interpret the post-baptismal anointing of a Christian in priestly terms, and the eucharistic prayer in the ancient text known as the *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to Hippolytus speaks of Christians as having been made worthy to stand before God and serve as priests. Similarly, both widowhood[2] and martyrdom[3] could be described as special forms of priestly consecration.

Alongside this, however, began to develop a quite different usage, the seeds of which can already be seen at the end of the first century. *Didache* 13.3 compares Christian prophets to high-priests in a passage concerning the offering of firstfruits, while *1 Clement* 40-41 cites the example of the assignment of different cultic roles to different ministers in the Old Testament Law as an argument against Christians transgressing the appointed limits of their respective ranks, and also uses the cultic expression 'offered the gifts' (44.4) in relation to Christian presbyter-bishops rather than the Christian community as a whole. But these passages are unique within Christian literature of the first two centuries, and in any case do not go as far as explicitly saying that Christian ministers are priests. It is not until the beginning of the third century that sacerdotal terminology starts to be used regularly and in a more literal manner to refer to ordained ministers, beginning with the bishop, and then extended to presbyters through their association with him, and in varying degrees to deacons also.

Thereafter sacerdotal language became standard in theological discourse about the ordained ministry in both East and West, though there are vestiges of some hesitation over the appropriateness of its adoption. Augustine, for instance, uses *sacerdos* more cautiously than his contemporaries, at least in part because of his need to insist on the unique priesthood of Christ in his debate with the Donatists.[4] Similarly, the ordination prayer for a bishop in the fourth-century *Canons of Hippolytus* omits all the high-priestly language found in its principal source, the *Apostolic Tradition*. The more ancient strata of other Eastern ordination prayers are also reticent in their use of cultic imagery, and it is only in later additions to these rites that priestly language appears. The classic Roman ordination formularies, on the other hand, stand in sharp contrast to this. Here the image of Christian ministers as the spiritual counterpart of the Old Testament cultic functionaries is primary to the texts.

The introduction of priestly language in relation to the ordained at the end of the second century marks the inception of a major change in the relationship between the people and their ministers within the Church: bishops and presbyters would eventually cease to be seen as the presiders within a priestly people, and become instead a priesthood acting on behalf of 'the laity'—a term already used in this sense in *1 Clement* 40.5. Although thereafter liturgical texts themselves might still carry the more ancient image of the common priesthood in which all Christians participated, both theological discourse and ecclesiastical practice instead viewed ordination rather than baptism as the decisive point of entry into the priestly life.

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[1] *De baptismo* 7; see also *De oratione* 28; *Exhortatio castitatis* 7.
[2] Tertullian, *Ad uxorem* 1.7.
[3] Cyprian, *Ep.* 76.3.
[4] See, e.g., *Parm.* II.8.15-16.

Even the sixteenth-century Reformers did not entirely succeed in throwing off the vestiges of this way of thinking, in spite of their strenuous rejection of the attribution of any sort of priesthood to the ordained ministry. They still tended to regard the ordained alone as the ones who should exercise any sort of active ministry, with the laity as the recipients of that ministry rather as co-workers with it. The ordained were to preach the word *to* the laity and to administer the sacraments *to* them, to make public prayer *for* them and to exercise pastoral care over them—a priesthood in almost all but name.

The compilers of modern ordination rites therefore need to reflect carefully which model of priesthood should find a place in future texts—that of the royal priesthood of the Church, which the ordained ministers lead in their corporate mission, witness, and worship, or that of the ordained ministry acting on behalf of the people. By 'find a place' I am referring not only to explicit references to priesthood as such, but to the whole relationship between lay and ordained members of the Church that is inferred in the rites. How far are the ordained to minister *to* and *for* the laity and how far together *with* them? In this matter, prepositions are everything.

## ORDINATION AND ECCLESIOLOGY

Yet even if we were to revise our ordination rites once again along such lines as these, we would not have finished our task. We would not have succeeded in putting ordination itself back where it really belongs within the ministry of the whole Church.

One of the major distortions of our traditional thinking about ordination has come about through divorcing it from ecclesiological considerations, and imagining that one could have a theology of ordained ministry that was to a large measure independent of a theology of the Church. This can be seen exemplified in such things as the recognition of the validity of ordinations performed by *episcopi vagantes*, as well as in the nineteenth-century efforts to gain recognition of the validity of Anglican Orders from Roman Catholics, which resulted in the reverse—their condemnation as invalid by Leo XIII in the bull *Apostolicae Curae* in 1896. It can also be seen in various schemes of reunion between Anglican and non-episcopal churches in the twentieth century. In nearly all these cases it was assumed that recognition of orders might precede the recognition of churches as churches.

To me, however, this appears to be putting the ministerial cart well before the ecclesiological horse. The ordained ministry exists to serve the Church, not the Church to serve the ordained ministry. As Edward Schillebeeckx has argued, what was considered essential in the understanding of ordination in early Christianity was 'the church's mandate or the church's sending of the minister, not the specific form in which the calling and sending takes shape.'[1] On such an understanding, recognition of orders cannot precede recognition of churches, but is intimately bound up with it, since it is the validity of a church's mandate that determines the validity of its ordinations, and not the other way around.

This is but another manner of stating what has been my principal thesis throughout this paper: that it is the Church that is crucial to the question of ordination and to its liturgical celebration, and we neglect that truth at peril of distorting the whole process. I believe that we are called, therefore, to rescue ordination rites from a narrow scholastic sacramental theology and from their relegation to an essentially episcopal and clerical preserve, in which lay folk fear to tread, and instead to restore ordination as an action of the whole Church—or rather as God's action through the whole Church.

[1] Schillebeeckx, *The Church with a Human Face*, p. 139.

# 3. Anglican Orders and Unity[1]

by Colin Buchanan

BACKGROUND THEORIES

I want to address two competing theories of the authority for orders—broadly classifiable as the Cyprianic and the Augustinian. The two come into currency long after the apostolic age, not only because the New Testament gives us very few straws about orders from which to form relevant theological bricks, but also because it is controversies arising later in church history, which cause a framing of more detailed statements. These theories arise from two particular episodes in the life of the Western (indeed in both cases the North African) church, in a period when the theories were enmeshed and expounded in relation to episcopacy. However, at root the two theories touch on an ecclesiological issue which is logically prior to the manifestation of threefold orders capped by episcopacy. Both are very suggestive in relation to the theme of this paper, for both arose from theological ways of handling the fact of schism. Whilst there certainly were schisms prior to the two episodes I want to consider, and while virtually all schisms have some implications in relation to orders, it is these two episodes which have parented doctrines of orders which affect our understanding of a visible church in multiple division to-day.

Cyprian in the mid-third century says orders cannot exist away from the fabric of the catholic church—and possibly thereby implies that (a) rebels and schismatics 'lose' (or 'forfeit'?) their orders; and (b) no orders can be conferred except within the catholic church. Eastern Churches to-day tend towards Cyprianism[2]; and so, *mutatis mutandis,* does classic congregationalism. The concept arises again—very interestingly—in connection with ecumenism.

Augustine, a century and a half after Cyprian, was attempting to reconcile the Donatists with (and to) the catholic church. Whilst generally no less denunciatory of schism than Cyprian, he has one olive branch to offer—Donatist baptism will be recognized as true baptism. This allows the principle that 'once-for-all-for-life' sacramental ordinances (such as ordination also has always been reckoned to be) can be truly conferred outside the catholic church—and are thus valid and should be recognized. (Augustine would, of course, argue further that such recognition is given with a view to reconciling those baptized (and ordained) in schism to the catholic church, and that only the 'character' (to use a medieval term) is conferred, without the cognate grace, as long as they remain in schism.) There is actually little evidence of Augustine himself applying the principle to ordination, but the principle has nevertheless become known as the 'Augustinian' theory of orders.[3]

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[1] Part of this essay originates in a paper on the Anglican Ordinal which I prepared for the Meissen Theological Talks in England in March 1996—papers which are separately published by the Council for Christian Unity of the Church of England under the title *Visible Unity and the Ministry of Oversight: The Second Theological Conference held under the Meissen Agreement between the Church of England and the Evangelical Church in Germany* (Church House Publishing, 1997).

[2] There is unclarity in relation to Roman Catholic orders, for, whilst Orthodoxy and Rome are not in formal communion with each other, it seems that, on Orthodox premises, Rome can be recognized as a *part* of the *una sancta*. The problem comes when Rome claims to *be* the *una sancta* without, as it were, remainder. But Roman presbyters are known to transfer to Eastern Orthodoxy without re-ordination.

[3] Augustine *ep. Parm.* 2.13(28).

This 'Augustinian' theory has prevailed almost unchallenged in the West. It has certain obvious advantages—the main one of which is an initial certainty about who has been ordained and who not: simple recourse to the stud book and the line of descent of orders establishes who has the true dynastic descent and who not. And this in turn has toughened the concept of 'validity', with its concomitant linguistic currency of 'invalidity'; or, more normally, 'nullity'. It has also been of great practical advantage in respect of Rome's attitude towards the Eastern Churches. And it would of itself rule out most non-episcopal orders, simply because they do not have an historic origin of the right sort. It is clear that, with some qualifications, Anglicanism embraced (or sustained) this theory when the Church of England split from Rome in the sixteenth century, and the consecration of Parker, carefully arranged to be done by four pre-Marian bishops in undoubted succession, witnesses to that concern. Rome in turn found itself hoist with its own theological petard, as Anglican orders could not be condemned and nullified simply on the grounds that they had been conferred in schism. When the time for Rome came that it was proving expedient and strategically prudent to condemn Anglican orders, all sorts of other theological ruses had to be employed in order to reach the appropriate conclusion.[1]

### CRANMER'S REFORMATION ORDINAL

It is a commonplace that at the Reformation 'these orders in Christ's Church; bishops, priests and deacons' were (as the same Preface to the Ordinal declares) 'continued'. It was almost inevitable that they would be, for the progress of the Reformation in both Henry's and Edward's reigns depended in large part upon the clergy using the offices they already held to promote it. Had the archbishops and bishops at any point called in question the propriety of their own ordination, they would have lost their own standing and forfeited their appointments. So this type of 'top-down' Reformation was bound to function with emphasis upon 'continuity'.[2] The orders (and offices and appointments) in the Church of

[1] A different embarrassment arose for Rome from the Old Catholic schism. Whilst the consecration of seven successive Archbishops of Utrecht between 1720 and 1742 was effected by a 'single bishop consecration' through an excommunicated bishop *in partibus*, neither the singleness nor the excommunication rendered him incapable of conferring true orders, and therefore, in relation to Old Catholic orders, Rome has always had to concede that validity as a 'given', when Cyprian would have totally delivered them. (They were nearly delivered as it was, as, towards the end of the Napoleonic War, only one of the three Dutch bishops was still alive, and he fell into a freezing canal on a Winter night and was only kept alive, along with his succession, through the prompt action of his coachman.) The Old Catholic line spread its episcopate through large parts of Europe following the secessions from Rome after Vatican I, and the canal incident cannot now recur. Since the Bonn Agreement (1931) Old Catholics and Anglicans have recognized each others' orders as valid (on Augustinian grounds), and have shared in each others' episcopal consecrations—thus derivately raising the (casuistical) possibility that, from Rome's standpoint, despite the defects in Anglican orders in 1550, 1552 and even 1662, some true juice may in recent years have been injected into the Anglican line through that Old Catholic participation—and modern Anglican ordinals (untouched by *Apostolicae Curae* in 1896) may possibly be sufficiently near to Rome's criteria to sustain true orders in being once they have been (so to speak) injected into the Anglican succession.

[2] 'Continuity' is, of course, crucial to the Augustinian theory. The whole origin of it lay in the assertion that the Donatists could 'continue' an element of historic catholicity by mere historcal sequence, even if currently in separation from the fabric of the church and in heresy. The only test of 'validity' was historicity, and, by accident of contingent pressures (or, of course, by over-ruling divine providence), the 'continuity' in the Preface to the Ordinal apparently provided just what later generations reckoned they needed.

England duly continued, from the legal aspect and in terms of their places in the Church's structures, unchanged *faute de mieux*. By the time of Elizabeth's reign there was also the force of martyrdom—five bishops had been burned under Mary for their reformed faith, and they were being celebrated as martyrs in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, the next book after the Bible to be read in English homes till *Pilgrim's Progress* appeared a hundred years later. In the next century or so the matter of episcopacy became so entangled with monarchy that it was crucial for all royalists to leap to the defence—indeed sometimes the assertion of the necessity—of episcopacy for the safety of the throne. This is interesting (and doctrinally it was bound up with the divine right of kings), but it has, of course, to be recognized as rather different from some of the doctrines that have been wished upon the sixteenth century retrogressively since. And if you consult the text of Article XXIII, you will find that, at the point where the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888, or even the presuppositions of the Meissen talks, would have made some statement about the historic epicopate, there is instead the most general statement about ministering in the congregation, made in a form which would probably unite Anglicans and Presbyterians on the spot.[1] Other Articles do refer to bishops, priests and deacons, but none refer to the need of them! The way these orders were 'continued' was by means of successive revision of the ordination rites, which yet retained 'Bishops, Priests and Deacons', and ordained the candidates by the laying on of episcopal hands. The revised Ordinal (drawn indirectly from the pre-Reformation Pontifical, but more immediately from Bucer) was not ready in time to be part of the 1549 Prayer Book, but was instead a separate book of the three rites for ordaining deacons, priests and bishops (in that order) published by authority in 1550. Because the Ordinal arose separately from the rest of the Book of Common Prayer, it has traditionally not been a legal part of it (though normally bound between the same set of covers), so that the title page of the '1662 Book of Common Prayer' (the Book that is still part of the foundational documents of the Church of England) actually reads 'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of The Church according to the use of The Church of England together with The Psalter or Psalms of David and the Form or Manner of Making Ordaining and Consecrating of Bishops Priests and Deacons'. The Ordinal has actually, in both its 1550 origins and in its later binding into the covers of the Book of Common Prayer as above, a slightly separable history from the rest of the Prayer Book. Indeed it was apparently overlooked in law at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign when the BCP of 1552 was revived, but the ordinal was not mentioned in the 1559 Act., It appears that this is why Article XXXVI retrospectively affirms the propriety of the 1552 rites for ordinations, whether or not that is sufficient for legality! The Ordinal is cited as a separate Book in the Canons and in the Declaration of Assent, and has become therefore a separate leg on which the Church of England—and in turn the

[1] The text of Article XXIII runs as follows:

> *Of ministering in the congregation*
>
> It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authoruty given unto them in the congregation, to call and sed ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

This is remarkable for what it does not say (for it is fully compatible with, for instance, Presbyterianism), and the more so as Anglicanism was on the one hand taking its place as an episcopal church among a family of reformed churches most of which had a 'parity of ministers', and also because the Articles run to great detail in other areas such as the sacraments.

rest of Anglicanism—rests.[1] And it will be recognized that, just as with the universal use of Latin for worship in the Church of Rome for upwards of 1000 years, many features of church life ordered by authority in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may still be questioned and changed; and it is frankly unclear, from the mere fact of something being ordered by Act of Parliament in those centuries for universal observance, whether such requirements have the same doctrinal force as credal statements about the Trinity, or whether they are merely disciplinary, contingent and open to change.[2] To that extent the highest contention to be made for the episcopal system of the Church of England is that it is of the *bene esse* (perhaps even the *optime esse*) of the Church, and certainly not of the *esse* and therefore not *de fide*. This position, which is closest of all to the reticence of the Articles on episcopacy, is always agreed to be an allowable position to be held in the Church of England as a theory, but the Anglican Communion corporately has for a century or more been nervous of anyone acting on the theory. There is very considerable frustration in being so boxed in in practice by the opposite theory, a theory which goes beyond the doctrinal position of the Reformers and their formularies.

It is worth a further look at that 'continuity' issue. The 1550 Ordinal, the first revision of the Sarum uses, provided the terminology, where the actual word occurs in the Preface to the Ordinal: '. . . to the intent that these orders should be continued, and reverently used, and esteemed, in this Church of England, it is requisite, that no man . . . shall execute any of them, except he be called . . . and admitted, according to the form hereafter following.'[3] Vast edifices have been built upon the words 'that these orders should be continued'. Yet the words may be hardly doctrinal at all, but may be (a) asserting the propriety of the orders already held by ministers, and (b) exerting a discipline—both thrusts being designed to exclude sectarian upstarts rather than express a particular—let alone a conservative—doctrine about ordination. Cranmer is sufficiently unworried about tactual succession as to be ready to argue that, if in any Christian country a succession of bishops were to cease through failure to appoint or through an attack of the plague, the monarch has power in himself to appoint new bishops, without the participation of existing ones—and it is even arguable to the present day in England that the confirmation ceremony makes a man legally bishop of his diocese (at the monarch's command) even when other episcopal hands have not yet been laid on him!

### THE DISCONTINUITY OF THE ANGLICAN ORDINAL

Even whilst the orders were being 'continued', they were being so completely re-modelled as to look like an almost new start. If there is a 'continuity' in titles and appointments and in episcopal ordination, yet there is a great 'discontinuity' in the contents of the rites: and those discontinuities deserve serious examination. For this purpose it is the ordination of priests which is put under closest scrutiny, not only because 'the parish priest' is the normal minister most lay-people encounter, but also because, in the light of the teaching on

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[1] Though the Church of England (Worship and Doctrine) Measure
Prayer as containing the Ordinal, and thus makes modern or
within the meaning of the Measure. (I should add that, in wr
readership, I am aware that I do not know whether or not other
in the same way.)

[2] A comparable ambiguous requirement in this category might be th
of the sign of the cross in baptism—ceremonies which were not
but were nevertheless imposed by strict church discipline.

[3] The full text of the 1550/1552 Preface should be set out with the 1

priesthood which marked the pre-Reformation church, it is in that ordination that the greatest changes are to be seen.[1]

The changes in the ordination of presbyters from Sarum to 1552 come in two stages, firstly from Sarum to 1550, and then from 1550 to 1552. Firstly, there is a totally new question of a totally reformed sort: 'Be you persuaded that the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine, required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ . . . ?'[2] The pre-Reformation use did not include questions to candidates for the presbyterate. So this stems from Bucer rather than from any pre-Reformation question.[3] Secondly, the central task of the order was changed—it ceased to be 'to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead'; and it became 'to preach the word of God and to minister the holy sacraments'.[4] Thirdly, the subsidiary laying on of hands of the Sarum rite became the central act (the 'matter') of ordination, still retaining the words from John 20.23—retaining them as scriptural rather than to justify, let alone to make central, the Roman practice of 'Penance'.[5] It is often commented among scholars that Cranmer thereby lost the great ordination prayer which was the 'form' of ordination—and although there is a prayer preceding the laying on of hands, it is hardly comparable (and the rite for deacons includes no such prayer at all).

Finally, in two stages Cranmer completely changed the *porrectio instrumentorum*.[6] In the Sarum rite, the new priest received paten and chalice (with their respective elements) with

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[1] The word 'priest' is, of course, an unfortunate hang-over from the pre-Reformation days, and, although its etymology in English is undoubtedly that it is 'presbyter writ small', its general use as the standard English translation of the words from the *hiereus* stem in the Greek New Testament makes it inappropriate as the translation of *presbyteros*. Nowadays there is a slow but steady recovery of the English word 'presbyter' and that helps stop the doctrine of ordination falling into unnecessary confusion. We are wise to use the word 'presbyter' ourselves. It is the word Newman used of himself at the beginning of Tract no. 1 'I am but one of yourselves—a presbyter', and it is officially into our formularies now in the modern ordination rites—the title of the relevant service being 'The Ordination of Priests (also called Presbyters)'.

[2] Cf. Article VI of the Thirty-Nine: 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary for salvation: so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation . . .'

[3] The full eight questions should be included in any thorough survey.

[4] Cf. the 'notes' of the visible Church in Article XIX of the Thirty-Nine (Anglicans were criticized at the time for omitting reference to 'discipline'!). The sacraments, of course, had been reduced to two only, but that numerical factor is of less significance than their becoming second (in the order of describing the roles of the ordained ministry) after 'the word of God'.

[5] Cranmer makes clear in successive revisions of the Book of Common Prayer that there is no place for 'auricular confession' in the reformed Church of England, and in his treatment of two sacraments excludes 'Penance' from being a sacrament—a position confirmed in Article XXV of 1571. On the other hand he apparently saw no reason in the Ordinal to dispense with scriptural words, and must have long since concluded (and surely rightly?) that Jesus' commissioning of his disciples in John 20 was not, and could hardly be stretched to be interpreted as, a command to go and spread a network of confessional boxes across the world. It is indeed typical of Cranmer, as can be seen in many places in the eucharist, to preserve pre-Reformation biblical material and give it a better context. And it is fairly clear that he must have conceived of the John 20 passage as a highly personalized way of chartering the original disciples to proclaim a gospel of repentance (cf. Luke 24.47, a passage which reports the same evening) throughout the world. None of the above precluded private and confidential spiritual counsel, which is strongly commended by Cranmer in the warning exhortation in the 1552 communion service.

[6] The texts of the 'Porrectio' at the various stages, if set out in parallel columns, are highly illuminating. For the consecration of bishops, in 1550 there was still the laying on of a Bible on the neck, and the delivery of a pastoral staff; and in 1552 this became the delivery of a Bible (as with the ordination of a presbyter).

the instruction to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead. In 1550 the bishop handed over the actual sacramental symbols of a cup and bread, but added a Bible as well; and in 1552 the sacramental symbols disappeared, leaving the Bible alone as the outstanding tangible indicator of the character of the reformed ministry. Gone were not only the 'instruments' of the mass, but also the vesting of candidates, the anointing of their hands, and any possibility of 'concelebration'.[1]

### HINTS OF CYPRIAN

We move on from the text to a wholly different issue. The Preface to the Ordinal prescribed episcopal ordination for the Church of England, but it did not proscribe those, in reformation Churches elsewhere, who were being ordained by other means (usually Presbyterian); and for a hundred years after the Reformation the Church of England was ready to receive them into the threefold order as presbyters as if they had been episcopally ordained.[2] Nor was it different when James I and Archbishop Bancroft insisted on the Church of Scotland becoming episcopal—for, although the first bishops had to be existing presbyters who came to London to be consecrated bishop in 1610, they were not at that point first episcopally ordained deacon and presbyter before being made bishop; and when they returned to Scotland they did not attempt to ordain again the existing presbyters, but recognized and accepted them as true presbyters in the Church of God. In other words, the existing presbyters were being recognized *as ordained in a true ecclesial context*.[3] Whilst the Reformers could not have held to quite the same concept of catholicity as marked Cyprian's polemics, yet they were saying, in effect, that a genuine church provides a genuine, that is, a valid, ministry.[4]

This latter loophole ceased at the Restoration. Charles II was called (or re-called) to the throne in May 1660. The restoration of the Prayer Book took two years and it was finally imposed by Act of Uniformity from 24 August 1662. Until that point there were, as a run-on from the Commonwealth, perhaps thousands of ministers functioning as parochial clergy without benefit of episcopal ordination. But the returning Royalists were Episcopalian to the core—though not so much because episcopacy guaranteed the form of the church, or provided an exclusive channel of grace, but because the monarchical throne of England, as they saw it, was settled upon a sub-structure of monepiscopacy.[5] Thus the heaviest possible

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[1] The Roman practice of the newly ordained priest echoing the text and imitating the action of the chief 'celebrant'—the bishop—highlighted the sacramental role to which he had been ordained. All that was swept aside with the change in the text.

[2] Norman Sykes' book, *Old Priest New Presbyter*, works carefully over the evidence for this.

[3] This point is strengthened when it is noted that, in Canon 55 of the Canons of 1604, the preacher is required, before he begins his sermon, to pray 'especially for the Churches of England, Scotland and Ireland'. In 1604 the first and third of these were episcopal, the second presbyterian. But they rank together in their ecclesiality.

[4] If it is remarked at the same time that the Anglicans never withdrew recognition from Roman Catholic orders (despite what they viewed as horrifying errors in the Roman doctrines of orders and priesthood, let alone their being excommunicated by Rome), that must go back to the 'continuity' factor set out above—in other words there never was a point where the Church of England could draw a line across and say 'From now on, Roman ordinations will not be recognized'. Augustine still reigned supreme on *that* front—and the paragraph above is only a note of 'hints', no more.

[5] They only just returned in time to save the (Augustinian) succession. No bishops were consecrated after 1645, not because no bishops existed to consecrate them, nor even because no king existed to nominate them—both were available in exile. But what could not be provided was the legal requirement (still improbably in force in 1997) of an 'election' by Dean and Chapter of the cathedral of the vacant diocese. So the survivors who might provide a true episcopal succession were looking quite thin on the ground and sickly by 1660 . . .

re-imposition of episcopacy was basic to the Restoration Settlement, and by the terms of the 1662 Act of Uniformity the non-episcopal ministers, ordained by whatever method during the Commonwealth, were forced to leave their parishes or to submit to episcopal ordination as though they had not been ordained at all.[1] The Preface to the Ordinal was strengthened in an exclusive direction: '. . . No man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon in the Church of England . . . except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, *or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination*'.[2] These last eight words are italicized editorially to indicate that they were added in 1662. The door open previously to Presbyterianly ordained ministers was now shut, the existing Puritan ministers who would not accept (re)ordination were chased out of their parishes, and the episcopal framework was complete and without exceptions. The Cyprianic doors had been closed for what to-day we might well think were politico-religious reasons rather than purely theological ones—but one theological result, a purely Augustinian view of orders, now reigned supreme in the structural character of the Church of England.[3] It is an interesting question as to whether the Church of England, by design or perchance, left itself still some room to negotiate as to the theological necessity of the office of a bishop, even whilst its formularies required unvarying use of episcopal ordination.

### PROBLEMS IN AUGUSTINIANISM

In the light of this vignette of a particular Anglican century of change, it is appropriate to re-visit the underlying theory—an Augustinian theory of orders, embodied in a threefold set of orders, claiming historical succession from the apostles. The most obvious snags in the theory are threefold:

(a) The theory, which in essence is an historical one, rests on no historical basis whatsoever. Tactual succession simply is not part of first or second century evidence—and later evidence not only does not plug the gap but is strictly irrelevant. There is an element of

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[1] There was a very strong bias against them amongst the Royalists, and therefore the exclusive requirements of the Act of Uniformity are not above suspicion of a deliberate vengeful attempt to twist the Puritans' tails.

[2] The 1662 text in parallel with the 1550/1552 one could also be an appendix to this essay.

[3] Curiously, in the actual changes in the Ordinal made in 1662, the slightly vague opening rubric to the ordination of deacons and priests in 1552 was clarified as follows: (i) . . . *there shall be a Sermon or Exhortation, declaring the duty and office of such as come to be admitted Deacons; how necessary that Order is in the Church of Christ* . . . (ii) . . . *there shall be a Sermon or Exhortation, declaring the duty and office of such as come to be admitted Priests; how necessary that Order is in the Church of Christ* . . . In the consecration of bishops, whilst a sermon has been added (which was lacking in 1552), it comes in the normal place in the communion service, and without any hints as to its subject matter. Perhaps that 'Order' was not quite so necessary in the Church of Christ! And I put 'Order' in quotation marks because it is not even absolutely clear that the liturgical books of the Reformation period treat the episcopate as an 'order' (and therefore do not 'ordain' people to it, but instead 'consecrate' them); but it can be argued that (as with Aquinas and the medievals) the Church of England at the time thought of the episcopate as an 'office' somehow within the presbyterate. Thus the Preface to the Ordinal only mentions 'these orders', and, whilst delineating 'Bishops, priests and deacons', does not use the enumerative 'three' anywhere; nor did the Preface say bishops are 'ordained' until 1662 (when the word must have been deliberately added—see the texts). But a more frequent view is that the Church of England was correcting the medieval pattern by making the major (indeed the only) orders bishop, presbyter and deacon, thus adjusting the pre-Reformation error of presbyter, deacon and sub-deacon.

fanciful superstition about these assertions of historical continuity, but without demonstrable historic continuity there should in logic be no theory. Yet paradoxically the theory, with a little liberal adjustment of its exclusivity, appears alive and relatively well.

(b) The theory allows a divorce between church and ordination, in such a way that orders may be conferred without any true ecclesial context. That, from Augustine's point of view, was precisely what was happening with Donatist ordinations. In a divided church this leads to overlapping or 'parallel' jurisdictions, sometimes 'in communion' with each other, sometimes not—exactly the scenario to antagonize a Cyprian. At its worst this doctrine of ordination leads to lines of *episcopi vagantes*. These fantasy bishop-figures, when thought to possess orders deemed 'valid' by Rome, have in turn been known surreptitiously to give 'true orders' to Anglican clergy who doubted the validity of their own succession. This in turn witnesses to an atomization of the doctrine of orders, in which individuals seek an individual validation of their orders from right outside their ecclesial frame, and in despite of the ecclesial claim to have conferred orders on them.

(c) It is worth consideration as to whether the Augustinian approach does not overweight ontology at the expense of function in the definition of orders. It has been interesting in my own theological pilgrimage to spend time in interaction with Eric Mascall who was re-exploring the ontology of orders in his retirement in the 1970s. Whilst he had no doubts about an ontological basis to orders, he was starting to interpret that ontology in terms of a relationship to the fabric of the church.[1] And that in turn might move the doctrine towards a Cyprianic definition.

(d) It is inevitable that Augustinian expositions should be 'catholic'—that is, the ordination rite claims to ordain to an 'order', which belongs in some sense to the universal church of God, and in effect calls for universal recognition. It is a noble, but often unsustainable aspiration, and may all too easily lose touch with reality in a divided church. Whilst devised to cope with schism and end it, it apparently denies that schism exists—or at least denies that it affects the doctrine of orders.

(e) In an ecumenical century, the theory apparently precludes any recognition of non-episcopal orders. It is a matter for guesswork how long such doctrinnaire exclusivity can (without biblical justification) over-rule ordinary Christian charity and instincts towards unity. For Anglicans it has already reached a point of being virtually intolerable—if the theory will not serve the actual joining of the churches, is it not time we ditched it or at least modified it?[2]

If the theory we usually follow gives us problems, what about the one over the horizon? Predictably, the Cyprianic concept is not an automatic deliverance, but is open to opposite objections:

(a) Whilst there has to be a churchly context for the giving of orders, it is not at all clear at what point of the splintering of the universal church there cease to be true orders. Alternatively, the concept can be expressed quantitively, and then all denominations have partial orders (and perhaps need to 'top up' from each other[3]);

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[1] [Reference to be checked]

[2] See the discussion by the 'Orders and Ecumenism' Group on pp.61-63 below.

[3] 'Topping-up' is dissected and discarded in Colin Buchanan, E. L. Mascall, J. I. Packer, The Bishop of Willesden (Graham Leonard) *Growing into Union* (SPCK, 1970) pp.193-207.

(b) There is a tendency in a disunited universal church to think that orders have only the authority of that proportion of the catholic church which stands behind their conferral.
(c) An historic succession of orders becomes a frill, and ceases to provide the substance of the enquiry. The ultimate logical outcome of that would appear to be that any group of people can constitute themselves 'church' and confer ordination

On this analysis, Anglicans hold to a strictly Augustinian theory of ordination. That implies that evidence of ordination in succession from the pre-Reformation church would be enough to put our orders on a par with Roman ones; and would invite Rome to recognize them as true orders *on her own terms*.[1] In fact of course Rome has not done so, but has denied the recognition—and it is instructive to see how she has had to apply her own terms in order to give that negative result.

We are to read the Roman Catholic condemnation of Anglican orders as a condemnation of the liturgical texts.[2] The major objection was 'defect of intention', which is a subtle shift from the standard enquiry into minister, form and matter of a sacrament. The stated defect was that the Edwardine Ordinal had not been intended (as it should have been intended) to make priests whose role was to offer the sacrifice of the mass. The underlying assumptions here are threefold:

(a) Orders are conferred in order to provide priests to offer the sacrifice of the mass;
(b) Cranmer's eucharistic rites had abolished all hints of the sacrifice of the mass;
(c) Cranmer's Ordinal therefore could not be said to ordain priests for that task (and the more so as it gave no hint in its own text that it did so ordain them).

Whilst *Apostolicae Curae* undoubtedly arose from English Roman Catholics manoeuvring to get the Pope to put Anglo-catholicism out of court, it needed refuting rather than merely dismissing. A robust Anglican answer would have been that we had never claimed that the validity of our orders rested upon any acceptance of (a), and thus it was unnecesary and even misleading to argue about (b) and (c)—points which, once (a) had been challenged, a good Anglican might well concede! It might however be argued back that what was needed was not robustness, but sensitivity—and that if any recognition by Rome were ever to happen (which was not what the Pope or the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster in 1896 actually wanted), then the Roman Catholics would have to be convinced, on *their* terms, that Anglicans had retained a valid succession. This was how the Archbishops of Canterbury and York went about replying—their 1897 document, whilst profoundly and satisfyingly scathing of the Pope and his scholarship on most points of both history and logic, veered a bit near him on this point of the eucharist. It virtually allowed (a), denied (b) and thus dismissed (c).[3] But it is arguable that both the polemical needs of the1890s and the Reformation formularies and a constructive laying of foundations for the future actually called for the 'robust' reply on this point, challenging the starting point of the two Archbishops.

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[1] The theory has been half-observed in relation to splinters from Anglicanism itself—such as the Cumminsite schism in the USA (leading to the line of succession in the Free Church of England), the Church of England in South Africa, or the more recent 'continuing Anglicans'. It does not particularly matter that the ordinations of these splinter-groups have been conducted within relatively tiny groups—the dynastic impeccability of the transmission of the orders has been sufficient. The claim to ordain candidates as 'bishop/prebyter/deacon in the church of God' is sustained by the sheer fact of the ordaining person being a bishop in the historic succession.

[2] It included a statement that the orders conferred were not clearly identified in 1552, but that is (a) special pleading, and (b) likely to pull out the rug from early rites also.

[3] The crucial sentence ran: 'Primo enim sacrificium laudis et gratiarum offerimus; tum vero *sacrificium Crucis Patri proponimus and praesentamus*, et per illud remissionem peccatorum . . . impetramus.' (*Answer* para XI—emphasis mine). The question is 'What does "Patri proponimus et praesentamus" mean?'

There are other modern trends which need to be followed up, notably the rise of Catholicism in the Church of England; modern revisions of the Ordinal, and the ecumenical implications of these trends.

The first of these is well known. Keble insisted on apostolic succession in his Assize Sermon in July 1833.[1] The theological doctrine of apostolic succession, drawing upon the rubrical uniformity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then began to engulf Anglicanism in a way previously unknown (though perhaps adumbrated in the narrow sectarianism of the Non-jurors). It produced its own concepts of ministerial authority (with its concomitant clericalism), its own insistence on episcopal confirmation for true Christian initiation (with its concomitant Anglican exclusiveness), and its own magnification of the bishop's office in all accounts of ecclesiology (and thus of terms for inter-communion and re-union). It found its way in a modest form into the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. We need to note these effects—relatively new to the nineteenth century. Earlier evidence suggests that such insistence is neither integral to the gospel nor grounded in the Reformation settlement, but is a partisan and over-narrow view which has deeply affected and damaged our relationships with Reformed Churches.

Secondly, I come to revision of the ordination rites, which has happened round the world since the early 1970s. In my collection of the rites[2] I have traced their origins to the CSI rites of 1950, the Lambeth Conference document of 1958, and the Anglican-Methodist Ordinals of 1967 and 1968. Almost all of these have seen a shift from an indicative or imperative formula at the laying on of hands to a prayer of thanksgiving (indeed a 'eucharistic' prayer) within which or following which comes the laying on of hands.[3] It is a move sufficiently sharp as to raise the question as to whether we had a sufficient rite before![4] But *that* would be to open a retrospective can of worms . . .

What both Leo XIII and new rites have in common is a reliance upon Augustine. On the wider ecumenical front, however Cyprian starts to get a look in.

The concept of tactual succession, going right back to its origins in Augustine of Hippo, looks promising for the purpose of reconciling two episcopal churches, both of which can claim this historic succession and now need—for the sake of convergence or uniting—to recognize each other's church as a true part of the catholic church and its ordinations, and

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[1] Similarly Newman wrote in September 1833 in Tract no. 1 '[when all else fails] There are some who rest their divine mission . . . upon their temporal distinctions. This last case has, perhaps, been too much our own; I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT'. And John Mason Neale wrote a hymn which is still to be found in *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised:*

His twelve apostles first he made
his ministers of grace:
And they their hands on others laid
to fill in turn their place.

So age by age and year by year
this grace was handed on;
and still the holy Church is here,
although her Lord has gone.

Further comment on this is to be found in my forthcoming *Is the Church of England Biblical?: An Anglican Ecclesiology* (DLT, 1998).

[2] COB (ed.) *Modern Anglican Ordinaton Rites* (Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Study no. 3, 1987)

[3] This had been worked into the CSI rite through the participation of Edward Ratcliff, and it was then propounded strongly as a matter of principle in the 1958 Lambeth report (through the person of Leslie Brown, who had been on the CSI Liturgy Committee in 1949-50), and Ratcliff in turn affected the Anglican-Methodist Ordinal of 1968.

[4] I recall Arthur Couratin telling me in the early days of my time on the Liturgical Commission 'I never assist at an ordination in Durham cathedral without saying to myself "Invalid orders—defect of form".' Such was the power of the concept of prayer as the 'form', a concept brought into question by Paul Bradshaw in the opening paper above.

thus its ministers, as valid and beyond question. As it is primarily the historicity question which has to be handled, the size of the two churches and other similar questions can be set aside. There has, however, arisen a variant in respect of this in the Porvoo negotiations; for, quite apart from those churches, such as the Church of Norway, where a 'broken' succession has arguably been 'restored' by the participation in consecrations of bishops from other countries or provinces (Anglican, Lutheran or even Old Catholic) of impeccable vintage, in the Church of Denmark this participation had been wholly and deliberately excluded. There had indeed been a break in the succession in the sixteenth century, and ordination by presbyters had had to be employed to provide new bishops, and the current 'threefold' order stems from that event. The Danes proved unwilling to effect 'repairs' from outside their own country, but the negotiators reported that the continuity of the church in Denmark through the Reformation was such as to give a kind of alternative validation to the continuity of ordinations, albeit not episcopal, which had occurred. Whilst in the event the Danes have not subscribed to the Porvoo agreement, yet the Anglican Churches of Britain and Ireland, in their voting on the report, declared themselves ready to accept the Danes on the above terms. It is arguable that, in the process, Augustine was getting a small injection of Cyprian into his system. It is not quite so clear that the crossing of a watershed was registered by the participants, and the discussion in the report reads more like a seeking of an expedient to stop a gap.

The next interesting case arises in those situations where it is proposed to turn a church episcopal in order that its ordinations may be recognized, usually in the course of a quest for union of some sort. Such was the 1963/68 Anglican-Methodist Scheme in England, and such too was the proposed 'Covenant' of 1978-82. The recent 'talks about talks' between Anglicans and Methodists in England addressed a not dissimilar issue in their report, *Commitment to Mission and Unity* (Church House Publishing / Methodist Publishing House, 1996).[1] Of these the 1963/68 and 1996 plans for integrating or 'reconciling' ministries would appear to be nakedly Augustinian in their concept of orders.[2] So far they have come to nothing, though there exist slightly perverse mirror-images in the gaining of the historic episcopate by the Free Church of England (not then called that) in the nineteenth century, and by the Church of England in South Africa in the mid-1950s. These looked like sheer Augustinianism, but the episcopate was being adopted by those who had themselves little interest in theories of orders, and were adopting it in order to set themselves up as plausible rivals to existing larger (but less pure!) episcopal churches around them.

There may have been a step towards Cyprian taken amongst theologians when Oliver Quick suggested (? in the 1920s) that the church of God was in 'internal schism', and thus every part was conferring partial ordinations. It is unclear that any practical steps emerged from this, but at intervals his analysis has been quoted with approval, and it has a general tendency, as is obvious at sight, to favour Cyprian—though it was hardly issues of orders which originated or powered Quick's original analysis.

In order of logic the next phenomenon to consider is the formation of the Church of South India in 1947 (it reaches its fiftieth anniversary on 27 September 1997, just after the

[1] It has to be added that, at the time of going to press, the Church of England General Synod has accepted the principle of formal conversations with the Methodists, *without* building in this Augustinian feature of the earlier report mentioned above. As a participating member of the Synod's Council for Christian Unity, I can only rejoice at how the matter has moved on.

[2] The 1978-82 Covenant was more enlightened but abortive.

Jarvenpää gathering). This was in essence Augustinian in its approach to orders, but it qualified the existing limits of that approach in three ways:

Firstly, it allowed the recognition of presbyterally conferred orders as providing presbyters in the church of God, on virtually the same terms as the recognition of episcopally ordained presbyters—though now within an episcopal frame of church government.and authority.

Secondly, and by the same token, it recognized such presbyters as immediately eligible to be bishops.

Thirdly, it opened recognition to presbyters anywhere in the parent churches to enter into the ministerial ranks of CSI.

Whilst all these points are, in the strictest sense, issues of the historicity of orders, it has to be acknowledged that the overt philosophy of the participants was something like 'we as churches are carrying our respective ordained ministries into this united church, and the ministers are not being reconciled to each other one by one (as would have been the case with Augustine receiving Donatist presbyters into the Catholic fold), but are brought together by our churches coming together.' Therein, I suggest are overtones of Cyprian.

CSI was much attacked by the 'Catholic' hegemony of the Anglican Communion at the time; and not only were the non-episcopal ministers treated as no ministers at all, but the Anglican participants in the union were denounced for having gone into it, and for having given recognition to the non-episcopal ministers. Other countries considering such schemes were told by the Lambeth Conferences of 1948 and 1958 to 'reconcile the ministries' from the start. It is from these partisan reproaches that North India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh were directed towards the 'laying-on-hands-all-round' rites. These in brief provided for representatives of all traditions, but particularly and essentially bishops, to lay hands on all presbyters to commission them for their newer wider ministry within the particular united church. They are described in principle in Paul Bradshaw's book, *The Anglican Ordinal*, and I have generally dubbed them 'unificals', and have made well-documented pejorative reference to them in various places (most notably in the appendix to *Growing into Union* (1970)).

Part of the trouble these rites cause lies in their duplicity. The non-episcopal presbyters are assured their orders are being recognized, and the text of the rites does tend to include an element of affirmation of previous ministry. However, the moment the issue reaches an Anglican Church or province, the presbyters concerned are deemed by the Anglican authorities to have been episcopally ordained within the rite, and thus to fulfil the terms of the 1662 Preface to the Ordinal.

However, a more far-reaching problem emerges as relationships with parent churches are concerned. Once the 'unifical' solution has been adopted, it can never be dropped. No-one can be a minister of such a united Church unless he or she has either been episcopally ordained within that church or has been 'unified' on entry to it subsequent to ordination—*whether that original ordination elsewhere were episcopal or presbyterian*. The upshot is that, in order to have their orders recognized elsewhere from the start, the United Church founders have created a wall round themselves which means they themselves cannot recognize other people's orders (episcopalian or presbyterian) without the 'topping-up' of the unifical process. Of course that may not seem too serious when there are but few of such Churches on the earth's surface, but the long-term implications, especially if there were many such unions around, are such as to detract drastically from any concept of 'catholic' orders (which Augustine and threefold orders preserve *par excellence*). The paradox is that, specifically in order to defend catholic orders on the Augustinian theory, these arrangements come very near to providing merely local domestic ordinations, claiming recognition from others, but actually erecting barriers against others, and very specifically having to *name*

*the locality* of the scope of the 'orders' within the rite. I suspect that this is covert Cyprianism, but skewed by overt Augustinianism.

My own hope would be that Anglicanism could be more open to an interchangeability with ordained ministers of non-episcopal churches. Such a provision would undercut these ambiguous expedients . It is a joy to see the four-sided agreement forged and now implemented in South Africa, whereby the presbyters of Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches have become for most purposes interchangeable. Of course there is an element of the Cyprianic about it; it begins with a recognition of churches, and then treats the recognition and interchangeability of ministers as deriving from that.

Indeed, despite hesitations above, I suspect we need an element of the Cyprianic in all future deliberations. There is something ecclesiologically absurd about the *episcopus vagans* conferring costless and even meaningless 'orders' in a churchly vacuum, or ecclesial solipsism. Liturgists are rightly concerned with rites—but the definitions of rites have to include considerations of context, of canonical framework, of the qualifications of candidates and of the principle of universalizability. Only if we are sensible ecclesiologians will our rites correspond to God's reality and further it appropriately . . .

For the rest, I must cite myself from the Introduction to my collection of Anglican ordination rites 'What ordination is and does remains elusive'.[1]

[1] Colin Buchanan (ed.) *Modern Anglican Ordination Rites* (Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Study no. 3, Grove Books Ltd., Bramcote, 1987), p.11.

# 4. Some Reflections on Apostolicity, Apostolic Tradition, Episcopacy and Succession

by David R. Holeton

Virtually since the nineteenth century beginnings of Anglican involvement in ecumenical dialogue, the historic episcopate has been given a place as one of the cornerstones upon which any scheme for Christian reunion was to be laid. The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral lists 'the Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church' along with the Holy Scriptures, the Nicene Creed and the Dominical Sacraments as 'inherent parts of this sacred deposit [of the undivided Catholic Church], and therefore essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christianity ...'

It should be no surprise to note that, of the four cornerstones, the historic episcopate has been one of the great stumbling blocks in Anglican ecumenical dialogue. From early in this century, when long-standing conversations with the *Unitas Fratrum* (often called Moravians) broke off when it was discovered that their claims to the 'apostolic succession' were 'mythical' rather than historic, to some of the modern plans for church union (e.g. with Methodists in England or the United Church of Canada) discussion has foundered on the topic of 'apostolic succession' or the historic episcopate.[1] To be sure, there have been some examples where this question has been resolved much more successfully. The creation of the Church of South India and the dialogue with Lutherans in North America would be two particularly good examples. There are important lessons (both positive and negative) to be learned in both cases.

The multilateral document *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*[2] is an important milestone in finding a way forward on this matter. This is due, in part, to the fact that Anglicanism's polity and practice is both affirmed and challenged. Anglicanism is affirmed, in that the apostolic nature of the church is central in the document's ecclesiology.[3] It is challenged, in that the understanding of 'apostolic succession' is broadened beyond the common Anglican usage of the term in which it has usually been reduced to 'historic episcopate' that is 'tactile succession—*successio manuum*' often above 'succession of see—*successio sedis*' let alone in any articulation of the apostolicity of the whole church.[4]

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[1] The 'sting' left after the breakdown of conversations when 'apostolic succession' is an issue is particularly sharp and of long duration as it effectively 'unchurches' one of the partners in the dialogue. Anglicans would do well to bear in mind the analogy to ongoing Anglican bitterness over the declaration of the nullity of Anglican orders in *Apostolicae Curae*.

[2] Faith and Order Paper No. 111 (Geneva, 1982).

[3] *Ministry*, IV.A.34. In the Creed, the Church confesses itself to be apostolic. The Church lives in continuity with the apostles and their proclamation. The same Lord who sent the apostles continues to be present in the Church. The Spirit keeps the Church in the apostolic tradition until the fulfilment of history in the Kingdom of God.

[4] *Ministry*, IV.B.35. The primary manifestation of apostolic succession is to be found in the apostolic tradition of the Church as a whole. The succession is an expression of the permanence and, therefore, of the continuity of Christ's own mission in which the Church participates.

With BEM's affirmation of the apostolic character of the Church as a starting point, Anglicans must certainly subscribe to BEM's vision of what constitutes the basics of apostolic tradition:

> Apostolic tradition in the Church means continuity in the permanent characteristics of the Church of the apostles: witness to the apostolic faith, proclamation and fresh interpretation of the Gospel, celebration of baptism and eucharist, the transmission of ministerial responsibilities, communion in prayer, love, joy and suffering, service to the sick and the needy, unity among the local churches and sharing the gifts which the Lord has given to each.[1]

The consequence of this broadening of our understanding of apostolic tradition beyond its common meaning of 'historic succession' is that it compels us to recognize that there are churches who bear all the marks of the *apostolic tradition* and, therefore, must in some way stand in the *apostolic succession* of the church even though they may have neither the historic episcopate nor even the order entitled 'bishop'.[2] For some Anglicans this may seem self-evident. We must not forget, however, that for many Anglicans over the past century there has been an almost unreasonable willingness to overlook the qualities of apostolic tradition in churches without the 'historic episcopate'.

The corollary to a broadened definition of apostolic tradition is that Anglicans must examine their own life and ask to what extent they, themselves, stand in the apostolic tradition. This, certainly, is an issue in our ecumenical dialogues when those who claim to be the principal transmitters of the apostolic tradition allow themselves to appear to be the principal opponents of what is commonly received to be the apostolic faith.[3] A willingness to recognize how we can fall short in our faithfulness to the apostolic tradition must certainly be an entrée in our dialogue with other churches in this matter.

That said, it is important to affirm the centrality of the sign-act of episcopal hand-laying in ordination and the rôle it assumes in the intention of Anglicanism as a whole to remain faithful to the apostolic tradition. As such, 'historic succession' is a rich sign, though not a guarantee, of the continuity and unity of the Church; and it is one which is increasingly accepted by churches without the 'historic episcopate' engaged in union negotiations as a sign of the apostolicity of the life of the whole church.[4] Any diminution of the value of the sign-act of the transmission of succession in the apostolic and historic tradition would, therefore, be a diminution of the importance of the tradition itself.

What is imperative, however, is that when Anglicans engage in ecumenical dialogue with such churches there be no imputation that the ecumenical partner is somehow unequal as a church because it wants for this historic sign. As such, any question of 're-ordination' in the case of any eventual scheme of union or full-communion must be out of the question.

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[1] *Ministry*, IV.A.34.

[2] *Ministry*, IV.B.37. In churches which practise the succession through the episcopate, it is increasingly recognized that a continuity in apostolic faith, worship and mission has been preserved in churches which have not retained the form of historic episcopate.

[3] Different examples will come to mind for each reader and it is not the purpose of this paper to judge the belief of any particular bishop. There is, however, a serious question of public perception. There was, for example, a time when the most serious stumbling block in the Anglican-Orthodox dialogue was the question of an Anglican bishop having been reported to deny the resurrection in the press. While this is quite a simplification of what the bishop was actually saying, the point remains that the bishop was perceived by many to be explicitly denying something central to the apostolic faith and, thus, touching on the very core of traditional episcopal claims to be the transmitters of the apostolic tradition.

[4] Cf. *Ministry*, IV.B.38.

## A LITURGICAL WAY FORWARD

As churches move towards a mutual recognition of one another and their ministries the question of how becomes a growing one. Out of dialogue must emerge the willingness of both partners to recognize that the other stands within and bears the marks of the apostolic tradition.[1] Synodical affirmation of this is an assumed part of the process. Liturgical celebration of this, however, lies at the heart of any such recognition. It is here that great care must be taken.

The sign of celebrating together at the Lord's Table ought to be central and primary to any such act of recognition. Other sign-acts that take place should not detract from that. Mutual imposition of hands comes to mind as something that ought to be avoided. First, because it is a fundamental sign of the orderly transmission of the ministerial commission which each church has recognized the other to possess. Second, because it is too easily interpreted by some as a 'moment' in which something ('historic succession') possessed by one church is given to the other while the church 'without' the succession engages in an empty sign.

That there are churches which are willing to recognize one another and their ministries assumes that the members of both churches will participate in the ordinations of each church. This is particularly important in the ordination of bishops where the personal sign is provided in that bishops from both traditions, standing in the apostolic tradition, stand also as witnesses to the continuity and unity of the whole Church. Recognition of this mutual sharing in the apostolic tradition will be imperative in any such acts so that, again, it will not be interpreted as a moment when those who have give to those who have not.

It can be left to the actuaries in our midst to determine the date by which all those ordained in both churches will stand in the 'historic succession'. In the interim Anglicans face one pastoral problem and at least one anomaly. The pastoral problem is that, for a long while, many Anglican pastors have taught that without the 'historic succession' a church has neither real ministers not real sacraments and have believed they were being faithful to the teaching of the church in so doing.[2] We must go beyond a quick invocation of somewhat alien doctrines of economy or *ecclesia supplet* to get around what was a rather facile way of addressing more basic questions of apostolic tradition and its succession.

The anomaly, like much from our past, is that insistence on the historic succession has not always been at the forefront of Anglican consciousness let alone polity. The emphasis on episcopal ordination made after the Restoration of the seventeenth century was much more a matter of episcopal control and 'unchurching' dissenters than it was of sacramental validity.[3] This is underlined by the fact that the Church of England did not hesitate to

[1] It is important to recognize that each community falls short of complete faithfulness to that tradition and, in effect, acknowledges that at its Sunday celebration of the eucharist—particularly at the epiclesis in the eucharistic prayer.

[2] To this day, an inordinate number of confirmation sermons far too easily turn upon the bishop who purports to be the bearer of the apostolic tradition telling the candidates that it is at the moment of the imposition of his/her hands that they are being brought into communion with the whole church.

[3] The fundamental issue at stake was retribution against those who had opposed the central authority of the King during the Commonwealth. When appeal was made to the validity of priesthood the fundamental model was that of the Aaronic priesthood, and the relationship between king and priest with little interest expressed in ordination rites. I owe this observation to my colleague the Reverend Dr. David Smart.

employ (let alone question the 'validity' of their orders) German clergy in Restoration London or German and Danish ministers as missionaries in India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries even though they had never been ordained by bishops in the 'historic' succession.[1]

## SOME UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS

It was perhaps only when looking at the history of early Christianity through the rose-coloured spectacles of nineteenth century Anglican bishops gathered in solemn assembly that the historic episcopate could have gained such an unqualified place in an Anglican position on the unity of the church.[2] Such an insistence was a novelty to Anglicanism and not one that had played an central role in the attitude of Anglicans to other churches where legal establishment had traditionally played a more important role than had the historic episcopate in achieving Anglican recognition of that church. When it came to matters of ministry, for example, it would have been more natural (at least when looking at our liturgical formularies) for the Quadrilateral to have insisted on the three-fold ordained ministry of bishops, priests and deacons than on the historic episcopate.

Unfortunately, this has led to a certain episcopocentrism in our attitude to ministry, the ecclesiological consequences of which are grave. Perhaps most serious is the tendency to use the historic episcopate, rather than baptism, as the starting point for a theology of ministry. A discussion of ministry which begins with the historic episcopate, rather than the baptismal ministry of the whole People of God and the acknowledgement that there is no such thing as a baptized Christian without a ministry, skews our attitude towards ministry as a whole. Similarly, separating the episcopate from the other orders of ordained ministry has had the effect of presenting an unbalanced attitude towards the wholeness and mutuality of ministry in the church in which the assurance of the integrity of each order must be assured. Both Anglican attitude towards and pastoral use of bishops has too often valued 'historic' far more than *episcopé*. While an increaing number of bishops have managed to free themselves from the restrictions of seeing the totality of their ministry as confirming machines[3], Anglicanism still needs to respond to BEM's challenge to widen its vision of *episcopé*. The unity of the Church would be well served if the Quadrilateral were to be contextualized in an ecclesiology in which apostolicity was seen as a possession of the whole body and not dependent on any pipeline theory of the episcopate and the spurious episcopal genealogies to which it leads.

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[1] We must leave aside the question of contemporary shared ministries in which Anglican willingness to recognize the ministry of those without the 'historic' succession often seems to be temporary (recognition appears to cease when a minister leaves the team) and driven by less-than-worthy economic motives in which Anglican participation in an ecumenical team often ceases when an independent Anglican appointment or parish can be funded.

[2] At the Chicago General Convention of 1886 the House of Bishops adopted the 'quadrilateral'; the House of Deputies (clergy and laity) incorporated it into a larger plan and referred it to a Joint Committee on Christian Reunion for study and action.

[3] See, for example, J.C. Fricker, 'The Bishop in Initiation,' in David R. Holeton ed., *Growing in Newness of Life* (Anglican Book Centre, Toronto, 1993) 193-196.

# 5. Synodical Government: Consequences for Ministry

by Janet Crawford

In the last thirty years there have been significant changes in ministry in the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia (formerly the Church of the Province of New Zealand). Two aspects of Anglican tradition have remained unchanged: the three clerical orders of bishop, priest and deacon, and episcopal ordination. Recent decades have however seen the development of non-stipendiary ministry and ministry in co-operating (ecumenical) parishes, the ordination of women priests, the election and ordination of a woman diocesan bishop, the acceptance of non-territorial ethnic (Maori) bishops, new patterns of preparation and training for ordination, the emergence of a permanent or vocational diaconate and last, but not least, a growing emphasis on the ministry of the laity. Probably none of these changes are unique to this particular church but in some cases, such as the ordination of women and the appointment of ethnic bishops, New Zealand has been in the forefront of new developments.

Undoubtedly many factors, including demographic and economic changes, have contributed to new developments in ministry, but New Zealand's well-established tradition of synodical government has also been significant for it is through this particular form of church government that the Church has responded to changes in its context, seeking to provide ministry which is both consistent with the Anglican tradition and relevant to the needs of contemporary society. It was the General Synod of the Church which voted in 1976 for the ordination of women to the priesthood and which in a series of legislative acts first established the Bishopric of Aotearoa and then in 1992 accepted a revised constitution which formed a three *tikanga* Church (i.e. consisting of three cultural streams). It was a diocesan electoral synod which in 1989 elected the first woman diocesan bishop in the Anglican Communion.

The development of synodical government in the New Zealand church was largely due to the vision of George Augustus Selwyn who was appointed Bishop of New Zealand in 1841. Acting on his own authority as bishop and without traditional royal approval, Selwyn called together a synod of his clergy in 1844. At a second synod in 1847 Selwyn informed his clergy of the principle on which he exercised his authority, saying that 'neither will I act without you, nor can you act without me. The source of all diocesan action is the Bishop and therefore it behoves him so much the more to take care that he act with a mind informed and reinforced by conference with his clergy'.[1] Although Selwyn still retained the right to make final decisions by himself, this form of synod was a significant innovation in a church which was understood to be dependent on the Church of England. Selwyn, a leading spokesman for colonial churches, was of course aware of precedents for synodical government in the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Episcopal Church in the United States and was in fact in regular contact with North American church leaders.

[1] Quoted in A.K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand* (Education for Ministry, Wellington, 1991) 30.

Synodical government of the New Zealand Church was established in its Constitution of 1857. This set out a structure for a 'Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand', a church founded on the basis of voluntary association, governed by a General Synod and diocesan synods. Each synod would have three houses (bishops, clergy, laity), with each house voting separately and able to exercise a veto over the others. Although there have been significant changes resulting in the revised Constitution of 1992 this is essentially the structure which remains today. The 1857 Constitution, according to which the Church was governed not by episcopal decrees but by the authority of a General Synod of bishops in council together with clergy and laity, was viewed by some in England as a radical novelty but it roused considerable interest and made an important contribution to the debates on synodical government and lay participation which were then taking place in many colonial churches.

The involvement of laymen in the synodical process (women were not mentioned in the 1857 Constitution and it was not until 1972 that the first woman was elected to General Synod) was the result of pressure from a group of Anglican leaders in the new colony. They included the Governor, Sir George Grey; the Chief Justice, Sir William Martin; and the Attorney General, William Swaiman. These men wanted to take an active part in church affairs, particularly as the church was dependent on its membership for financial and other support, Selwyn having deliberately rejected state aid when it was offered. The principle of lay representation in church government was already accepted in the Episcopal Church in the U.S. and one of its advocates was William Gladstone, Prime Minister of Great Britain. Gladstone argued that it provided a necessary balance between the orders in the Church and meant that ecclesiastical laws had to be based upon the general consent of all the members. Grey, Martin and others presented a letter to Selwyn before he met in Conference with the Australian bishops in 1850. In this they argued for the establishment of a form of church government which 'by assigning to each order in the Church its appropriate duties, might call for the energies of all, and thus enable the whole body of the Church most efficiently to perform its functions'.[1] The Conference approved the principle of provincial and diocesan synods with full lay participation and this principle then became enacted in the 1857 Constitution of the Church in New Zealand. Ten years later the first Lambeth Conference endorsed the principles of synodical government as a way of obtaining the cooperation of all members of the body in Church action.

Synodical government is now a characteristic of all the churches of the Anglican Communion although it was not until 1969 that the Synodical Government Measure introduced it into the Church of England where it replaced a system of Convocations and the Church Assembly. There are however varying constitutional arrangements and structures reflecting diverse historical and cultural contexts and there is no one normative form of synodical government. What Anglican churches have in common is structures of governance based on the desire to recognize bishops' authority in some form as crucial and distinct while at the same time including representation from clergy and laity. Among those churches which retain the historic episcopate, Anglicans seem to have devised a unique way of balancing the collegial responsibilities of the episcopate with the full participation of representatives of both clerical and lay members of the Church.

In the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia the system of synodical government means that episcopal authority is both retained and restrained. Bishops, clergy

[1] *Ibid.*, 30-31.

and lay people participate together in decision-making, meeting together for debate but voting in separate houses. The Church cannot take action without a majority in each house. This may slow the process of change as when the vote on Church Union at the 1974 General Synod was narrowly lost at the clerical vote, or when the 1980 proposal for unification of ministries was lost by one episcopal vote. On the other hand, it means that decisions such as that on the ordination of women are made only after full debate and with the consent of a majority of those representing the whole membership of the Church.

With regard to ordination, synods play an important role in forming policies as to who may be ordained and what patterns of ministry should be developed. Clergy, those who are ordained, and who may have, or have been seen to have, certain vested interests, do not have a monopoly in making decisions about ministry, the views and concerns of lay persons are equally valid and decisive. Yet in the end, no matter what policies may be decided, bishops and bishops alone have the authority to ordain.

The power of synods is not limited to legislation. Much of the ongoing work of the Church is carried out at both provincial and diocesan levels by various commissions, boards and committees, membership of which is usually appointed by the respective synods. A recent review of theological education, initiated by General Synod and carried out by a small commission which it appointed, has already resulted in the establishment by Synod of a number of principles to make theological education more consistent with the ideals of a three *tikanga* church. The General synod in 1998 will take steps to allocate the available financial resources in the light of these principles. As a result there are bound to be further changes in the patterns of ordained ministry in the Church.

Synodical government is not perfect. It still relies on a form of decision-making by majority which results in 'winners' and 'losers' and there is a growing interest in finding ways of reaching consensus agreements. In spite of efforts to make synod representation more inclusive of women who make up more than half the worshipping members of the Church, they are still a minority in synodical structures, and governance of the church remains male-dominated. Young people and various minority groups have little more than token representation.

It is not yet clear how the development of the three *tikanga* model may affect the traditional three houses of the General Synod. Certainly it is evolving new ways of working which at present rely heavily on caucusing in *tikanga* groups. What does seem clear is that structures will continue to change and evolve. One thing that is unlikely to change is the belief that representatives of the whole Church should be actively involved in discussions and decisions about the Church's ministry.

# 6. Sequential and Direct Ordination

by John St.H. Gibaut

## INTRODUCTION

Any contemporary discussion on the renewal of ordination practice ought to include on its agenda questions around sequential and direct ordination. 'Sequential ordination' refers to the current process whereby candidates are ordained serially and sequentially through the various grades or orders of ministry (e.g. deacon, priest, bishop). Thus, all Anglican priests have been ordained to the diaconate, and all bishops have been ordained both to the diaconate and to the presbyterate. 'Direct ordination', known in the Western canonical tradition as *per saltum* ordination (i.e. 'by a leap') refers to an alternative process whereby a candidate for an order of ministry would be ordained directly to that order without having received or served in the 'lower' grades or grade. An example would be the ordination of a candidate to the presbyterate without ever having been ordained a deacon, or the ordination of a deacon (or lay person) to the episcopate without having first received the presbyterate (and diaconate).

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

From the outset it needs to be stated that both sequential and direct ordination have ample historical precedent. There are instances of ministers having been ordained sequentially through one or more orders as early as the second century, though such examples seem to have been the exception rather than the rule. The evidence suggests that in the pre-Nicene period direct ordination was the usual, though not exclusive, practice of the church. The earliest extant canonical evidence of sequential ordination is Canon 13 of the Council of Sardica, AD 343. From the fourth century onwards bishops, councils, and canonistic collections all began to insist that ministers proceed sequentially through the clerical grades, minor and major. Since the fourth century, the expressed purpose for sequential ordination has not been to meet a theological or sacramental end but, rather, has been that it meets the more practical and pastoral ends of the selection, testing and training of the clergy—particularly priests and bishops. Nevertheless, canonical legislation as well as biographical information indicates that the practice of *per saltum* ordination continued in the Western Church until well into the tenth century. It cannot claim to be a universal practice until the late eleventh century, with the ordination in 1073 of the deacon Hildebrand as a presbyter prior to his episcopal consecration as bishop of Rome with the name Gregory VII.[1]

At the Reformation the Church of England retained the principle of sequential ordination for the major orders of deacon, priest and bishop, the minor orders having been abolished. From the first Ordinal of 1550 to the present, the rubric at the end of the rite for the 'Making of Deacons' has stated:

> And here it must be declared unto the Deacon, that he must continue in that office of a Deacon the space of a whole year (except for reasonable causes it shall otherwise seem good unto the Bishop) to the intent he may be perfect, and well expert in the things pertaining to the Ecclesiastical Administration. If he has been found faithful and diligent, and has satisfied the Bishop that he is sufficiently experienced in the

[1] For a summary of the historical evidence see my article 'Sequential Ordination in Historical Perspective: A Response to J. Robert Wright' in *Anglican Theological Review* 77,3 (1995) 367-391.

things belonging to the Ministry, he may be admitted by his Diocesan to the Order of Priesthood at the Ember Seasons, or on any Sunday or Holy Day.[1]

Until the middle of this century (when its suppression was recommended by the bishops at the 1968 Lambeth Conference[2]) the final prayer in the earlier Prayer Book Ordinals for the ordination rite for deacons contained the petition:

> [that they] . . . may so well behave themselves in this *inferior* office, that they may be found worthy to be called unto the higher ministries in thy Church; through the same . . .[3]

The *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* of 1604, the foundational body of Anglican canon law, reflect the same understanding of sequential ordination as the Ordinal. The relevant canon, Canon 32, states 'None to be made Deacon and Minister both in one day'.

> The office of deacon being a step or degree to the ministry, according to the judgement of the ancient fathers, and the practice of the Primitive Church; we do ordain and appoint, that hereafter no bishop shall make any person, of what qualities or gifts soever, a deacon and a minister both together upon one day; but that the order in that behalf prescribed book of making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, be strictly observed. Not that always every deacon shall be kept from the ministry for a whole year, when the bishop shall find good cause to the contrary; but that there being now four times appointed in every year for the ordination of deacons and ministers, there may ever be some trial of their behaviour in the office of deacon, before they be admitted to the order of priesthood.[4]

The intent of Canon 32 is to prohibit a candidate from being ordained both deacon and priest in a single day. Like the Ordinal, it reflects the understanding of the order of deacon as temporary, a 'step or degree to the Ministry' (i.e., the priesthood) for the purpose of testing and training. While citing the 'judgement of the ancient fathers and the practice of the Primitive Church' the canon fails to take into account the practice of *per saltum* ordination in the ancient Church, mentioning that training and testing as the purpose of sequential ordination is consistent with patristic and medieval usage. In the end, although there have been notable exceptions, the diaconate has generally used been by Anglicans as a means of final testing and preparation for the presbyterate.

The question of direct ordination (and the vocabulary of *per saltum* ordination) has been part of Anglican discussions since the seventeenth century, notably around the ordination of four presbyterian ministers to the episcopate in 1610, as part of James I's initiative to restore episcopacy to the Church of Scotland. Of particular significance is the mid-seventeenth century work of the Restoration polemicist Peter Heylyn (1600-1668), *Aërius Redivivus, Or the History of the Presbyterians*. In an attempt to restore episcopacy in Scotland, James I ordered four presbyterian ministers to be ordained to the episcopate by bishops of the Church of England. In order to explain the episcopal ordination of those who had

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[1] *The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI*, 1549 (Dent, London, 1952) 302. Cf. The Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, *The Book of Common Prayer* (CUP, Cambridge, 1918) 623; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *The Book of Common Prayer* (1928), (The Church Pension Fund, New York, 1945) 535.

[2] Resolution 68. Roger Coleman, ed., *Resolutions of the Twelve Lambeth Conferences: 1867-1988* (Anglican Book Centre, Toronto, 1992) 162-163.

[3] E.g. *The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI 1549, 302*; The Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, *The Book of Common Prayer* (1921), 622; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *The Book of Common Prayer* (1928), 534. [*Italics* mine.]

[4] Canon 32, *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, 1604, qtd. G. R. Evans and J. Robert Wright, eds., *The Anglican Tradition: A Handbook of Sources* (SPCK, London, 1991) 192.

never been priests and deacons, Heylyn cites patristic examples of lay people ordained directly to the episcopate without ever having been ordained to any other order.[1] The (polemical) implication is that essentially four lay men were being ordained, rather than four ministers, reflecting the stance of the post-Restoration Church of England towards non-episcopal churches.

What is notable about Heylyn's somewhat forgotten work is his use of direct ordination as an interpretation of the 1610 consecrations, for it was later adopted by twentieth-century Anglicans as a way of understanding the ordination to the episcopate of non-episcopally ordained ministers in plans of union. For example, it was used by the Lambeth Conferences of 1908 and 1930 in the context of uniting churches involving Anglicans and non-episcopal churches. The Lambeth Conference of 1908 was the first to use the language of *per saltum* ordination, and it did so in the context of Peter Heylyn's account of the 1610 consecrations. In Resolution 75 the bishops stated:

> The Conference receives with thankfulness and hope the Report of its Committee on Reunion and Intercommunion, and is of the opinion that, in the welcome event of any project of reunion between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or other non-episcopal Church, which, while preserving the Faith in its integrity and purity, has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry, reached the stage of responsible negotiation, it might be possible to make an approach to reunion on the basis of the consecrations to the episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610.[2]

A note within the body of the report (in Archbishop Davidson's edition) adds the following commentary: 'In so far as these precedents involve consecration to the Episcopate *per saltum*, the conditions of such consecrations would require careful investigation and statement.'[3]

The 1930 Lambeth Conference also employed the *per saltum* terminology regarding the ordination of non-episcopally ordained ministers in uniting Churches. The report on 'The Unity of the Church' states:

> On the question of Consecration *per saltum* [a footnote in the text elaborates: '*i.e.*, Consecration to the Episcopate without previous ordination by a Bishop to the diaconate and priesthood.'], our view is that while undesirable in the normal course of the Church's life, such Consecration is not invalid and in the special circumstances of the inauguration of the united Church is justifiable.[4]

Regarding the ordinations of bishops for these churches, the Lambeth bishops responded that ministers from non-episcopal churches ordained as bishops in united churches would be ordained *per saltum*. While the use of such language is open to question on ecumenical grounds—it virtually denies the validity of non-episcopal orders—its use by the Lambeth bishops indicates that direct ordination is at least a viable and 'not invalid' option. The inherited pattern of sequential ordination may be modified or simply disregarded in certain situations, as Anglican practice throughout the twentieth century in ecumenical schemes has reflected.

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[1] Peter Heylyn, *Aërius Redivivus, Or the History of the Presbyterians* 2nd ed. (Robert Battersby, London, 1672) 382. N.B. The Aërius in question is a fourth century presbyter who denied the distinction between bishops and presbyters.

[2] Coleman, *Resolutions*, 43; R. T. Davidson, ed., *The Six Lambeth Conferences: 1867-1920* (SPCK, London, 1929), 336.

[3] Davidson, *Lambeth Conferences*, 432, n. 2.

[4] 'The Unity of the Church' in *Lambeth 1930* (SPCK, London, 1930) 128.

SEQUENTIAL AND DIRECT ORDINATION TODAY

There are two main issues regarding sequential ordination which Anglicans face today. The first is a reassessment of the current use of sequential ordination, primarily between the orders of deacon and priest. The second question calls for the abolition of sequential ordination altogether and the return to the primitive practice of direct ordination; this question arises in the context of the restoration of the diaconate as a viable order of ministry.

Since the classical motive for retaining sequential ordination—especially the sequence between the diaconate and the presbyterate—is testing and training, ideally within the space of one year, it must be asked whether twelve months is an adequate length of time to prepare someone for the priesthood? It may or may not have been sufficient in the days prior to theological colleges. However, the advent of Anglican theological colleges and seminaries since the nineteenth century probably renders this period as far *too long*, given the many years of anterior preparation and probation. Today, if a bishop is not sure whether a candidate is suitable or properly trained for the presbyterate, is he or she really likely to ordain such a candidate to the diaconate in the first place?

A related and perhaps more serious predicament is the many instances in which the one year period in the diaconate is reduced, often considerably. One episcopal member of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation is reported to have ordained some nuns in his diocese deacons on one day and priests on the next. In many provinces of the Anglican Communion (for example, some dioceses of the Canadian Church) six months has become the standard period of time in the diaconate. Two years ago in the diocese of Ottawa (where I live) some deacons were made priests within three months. Even more recently in Ottawa a former Lutheran pastor was a deacon for only three weeks prior to ordination as a priest. No doubt anecdotal evidence can be found from around the Communion of similarly reduced periods in the diaconate. Such abbreviated intervals in the diaconate may satisfy canonical minimums, but can in no way serve as a period of preparation and probation. One can only wonder about what rationale—theological, pastoral or otherwise—is used to justify such truncated intervals between the diaconate and the presbyterate.

On the other hand, the emergence of other forms of training for priesthood appearing more recently in the Anglican Communion—for example, locally raised candidates for ordination who no longer pursue training and testing in a seminary situation—may suggest that a one year period in the diaconate is far *too short*. It is interesting to note that in the patristic and medieval canonical sources, the time spent in the diaconate prior to ordination to the presbyterate was normally *five* years! If the primary reason for sequential ordination is training and testing, and, given the appearance of non-seminary trained clergy throughout the Communion, a return to the patristic and medieval interval of five years as a deacon could well be a far more realistic means of selecting, discerning, preparing and testing candidates for the priesthood. The longer period in the diaconate would correspond to the similar process whereby candidates for the episcopate are currently selected from among those who have been priests for a specified length of time.

Since testing and training are the historic reasons for sequential ordination, Anglicans clearly need to reconsider both if one year is an adequate period as well as the implications of reducing the time in the diaconate even further. In parts of the Communion, such a reconsideration has led some Anglicans to a critical reassessment of the current use of the diaconate as a preparation for the priesthood. They have pondered whether the diaconate ought simply to be abolished and candidates be ordained directly to the presbyterate.[1] Accordingly, the second and more substantial question posed today regarding sequential

[1] E.g. from the Church of England, *Deacons in the Church* (Church Information Office, Westminster, 1974) 22-25.

ordination is whether it ought to be retained at all. If the diaconate no longer serves as an authentic period of training and testing for the presbyterate, then why not simply ordain candidates directly to the presbyterate?

In recent years, especially in North America, advocates for the restoration of the diaconate as a 'full and equal order'[1] have argued convincingly that if the diaconate is to be recovered as a vibrant ministry in the church, it can no longer function simply as a final preparation for the priesthood. If the diaconate is to have any integrity as an order, then it must no longer be treated as 'transitional order', an 'inferior office', or as 'a step or degree to the ministry.' It is difficult to maintain the integrity of the diaconate as an order, advocates for the diaconate assert, while all candidates for the presbyterate are also routinely ordained deacons whether they have discerned the call and charism necessary to that order or not. Consequently, the restoration of the diaconate suggests that candidates for the priesthood be ordained directly—*per saltum*—to the priesthood, without ever having been deacons. As one Episcopalian has passionately contended:

> The issue of transitional deacons refuses to go away. Every ordination as a deacon of one intended for priest forces the issue upon the church . . . What does the transitional diaconate mean? At best it is polite fiction, at worst pious fraud. In almost every ordination of a person in transit, there exists a defect of intention. Transitional deacons don't intend to be deacons. They intend to be priests. Nor does the church intend them to be deacons . . . One must intend the order, and the church must intend it. Not for convenience. Not as a rite of passage into a new status in the church. But as a lifelong commitment to an order which finds its meaning in the imaging of service, the diaconate of Christ. Otherwise the sacrament exists only as a sham.[2]

## CONCLUSION

If the classical patristic, medieval and Anglican understandings of sequential ordination—namely testing and training—remain valid, can a one year diaconate truly serve these ends? What are the consequences of shortening the period to a matter of months or even days? If testing and training are met elsewhere (selection committees, theological colleges and seminaries, etc.) what is the rationale for not permitting direct ordination? What does sequential ordination mean today, if its historic needs are effectively met elsewhere? Given the lack of correspondence between the current use of sequential ordination and its expressed intent, and given the negative effects sequential ordination may have on current efforts to restore and renew the diaconate, the time may well have come to recover the ancient practice of direct ordination in the contemporary churches of the Anglican Communion.

The current rethinking of the use (or misuse) of the diaconate as a means of training and testing candidates for the presbyterate must be seen within the earlier context of the reconsideration and modification of sequential ordination arising from Anglican ecumenical ventures. Lambeth Conference reports and resolutions in the earlier part of the twentieth century (as well as subsequent practice) have shown that sequential ordination can be modified or simply replaced by direct ordination if there is good cause. If it is possible in respect to episcopal ordination in ecumenical contexts, it must equally be possible with respect to presbyteral ordination as well. The renewal of ordination practice, the renewal of our understanding of holy order, the restoration of the diaconate, a reconsideration of the purpose of sequential ordination in light of other developments in the training and testing of clergy all clearly point to such good cause for a return to direct ordination at the end of the century

[1] From the title of James M. Barnett's estimable work, *The Diaconate: A Full and Equal Order* (Seabury Press, New York, 1981).

[2] 'Getting our orders straight: a defect of intention' in *Diakoneo*, 10.1 (1988) 1.

# 7. 'Once a Deacon . . .'?

by Kevin Flynn

The meetings of the International Anglican Liturgical Consultations, both full consultations and preparatory work, give us a useful indication of both current practice and promise for the future of worship in the Anglican Communion. The impact of the liturgical renewal within the Anglican Communion has, among other things, raised questions about what, if not 'The Prayer Book', will keep the Communion together. Some of the answers that have come from the IALC give much reason to hope. To say, for example, that '[i]n the future, Anglican unity will find its liturgical expression not so much in uniform texts as in a common approach to eucharistic celebration and a structure which will ensure a balance of word, prayer, and sacrament, and which bears witness to the catholic calling of the Anglican communion'[1] is to envision a supple, creatively interdependent organism that relishes the freedom of the Spirit. Over and over again, the IALC has found the source of that freedom to arise from the baptismal character of the Christian people.

The Boston statement of 1985 affirmed baptism as the sacramental sign of full initiation into the Church. Implications for the communion of children, communicant status in one part of the Communion to mean the same in another part, ecumenical dimensions arise from that affirmation.

Some may accuse liturgists at times of being overly hopeful about the effect that liturgical reform has upon the rest of the life of the Church. It has not universally been observed that the exchange of the Peace at the eucharist has necessarily transformed every parish into a hotbed of charity. But then the liturgical movement of the twentieth century has never seen the liturgy as an end in itself. What is at stake is the ability of the Christian Church to address itself to the world. Part of the renewal of Christian communities necessarily lies in the renewal of worship. The Brixen papers[2] point out the genuinely formative nature of worship. Again, the note of the baptismal character of the Church is sounded in many of the essays.[3]

Issues of inculturation, already raised by Elisha Mbonigaba at that gathering, received further attention at York in 1989. The baptismal community has a responsibility to respond deeply to its cultural context. Since '[t]he incarnation is God's self-inculturation in this world and in a particular cultural context.'[4]

The Toronto meeting of 1991, was dedicated to studying matters related to Christian Initiation. *Growing in Newness of Life: Christian Initiation in Anglicanism Today*[5] shows a

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[1] David R. Holeton, ed., *Renewing the Anglican Eucharist: Findings of the Fifth International Anglican Liturgical Consultation*, Dublin, Eire 1995, (Grove Worship Series 135, Grove Books, Cambridge, 1996) 7.

[2] Thomas Talley, ed., *A Kingdom of Priests: Liturgical Formation of the People of God* [Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study No. 5] (Bramcote, 1988).

[3] E.g., those of Robert J. Brooks, 'The Catechumenate' A Case History', Bryan Spinks, 'The Liturgical Ministry of the Laity'.

[4] 'Down to Earth Worship: Findings of the Third International Anglican Liturgical Consultation, York, England, 1989', in David R. Holeton, (ed.), *Liturgical Inculturation in the Anglican Communion* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 15, Grove Books, Bramcote, 1990) 9.

[5] David R. Holeton, (ed.) *Growing in Newness of Life: Christian Initiation in Anglicanism Today. Papers from the Fourth International Anglican Liturgical Consultation, Toronto, 1991*. (The Anglican Book Centre, Toronto, 1993).

Communion in the process of being transformed by a renewal in thinking about baptism. The koinonia that flows from the font is characterized by a diversity of ministries within the Church and to the world.

Discussions about the eucharist[1] refer frequently to the Church as the baptized who 'are called to participate in the great sign of our common identity as the people of God, the body of Christ, and the community of the Holy Spirit.'[2]

The preliminary conversations about ordination held at Jarvenpää returned regularly to the fundamental matter of baptismal ecclesiology. We appear to have learned that ordination depends upon baptism, rather than *vice versa*. Baptism initiates persons into the ministry of the whole Church. Thus, all Christians have a responsibility to exercise, for example, their liturgical ministry. 'In, through and with Christ, the assembly is the celebrant of the Eucharist.'[3] The implications of such an understanding are beginning to be seen in the way that planning is undertaken for liturgical celebrations, in the postures and gestures of the assembly, in the quest for more authentic inculturation, to mention just a few.

A baptismal ecclesiology assumes, too, that all members of the church are charged with the exercise of witness. If the Decade of Evangelism has taught Anglicans anything, it is that proclamation of the gospel by word and deed cannot be left to a few professionals. While some persons have particular gifts in testifying to the work and presence of Christ in their life, all Christians are called to make the same proclamation in their several ways. Finally, the appearance on the sign boards of some parishes 'Minister: the whole congregation' is but one indication of the realization that the exercise of *diakonia* does not belong to the ordained alone, but is a given of the baptismal covenant.[4]

The rediscovery of the diaconal calling of *all* Christians is among the chief factors urging a rethinking of our received notions of ordained ministry.

The newer baptismal rites of the Communion give heightened expression to this dimension of the Christian life. *Diakonia* is referred to in a variety of ways. Naturally, the Greek term itself does not appear, but its content is expressed. So, for example, in *A Prayer Book for Australia* the candidates are asks, 'Will you each, by God's grace, strive to live as a disciple of Christ, loving God with your whole heart, and your neighbour as yourself, until your life's end?'[5] Shortly afterwards prayer is offered for the candidates that they 'continue in the fellowship and service' of Christ's Church.[6] In the *Book of Alternative Services* of the Anglican Church of Canada candidates are asked whether they will 'strive for justice and peace among all people, and respect the dignity of every human being.'[7] In *A New Zealand Prayer Book* a 'Commitment to Christian Service' is a distinct section of the rite.[8] A similar expression of a call to service is found in the giving of a candle to the newly baptized,

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[1] Summarized in Holeton, *Renewing the Anglican Eucharist* and *Our Thanks and Praise. The Eucharist in Anglicanism Today: Papers from the Fourth International Anglican Liturgical Consultation on the Eucharist, Dublin, August 1995*. (The Anglican Book Centre, Toronto, 1998).

[2] Principles and Recommendations, Dublin 1995.

[3] Principles and Recommendations, Dublin 1995.

[4] Can we hope that the idea of confirmation as 'ordination of the laity' has at last been laid to rest? Baptism is entry into the order known as *laos*.

[5] *A Prayer Book for Australia: Shorter Edition* (1995) 56.

[6] *A Prayer Book for Australia: Shorter Edition*, 57.

[7] *The Book of Alternative Services* (1985) 159.

[8] *A New Zealand Prayer Book—He Karkaia Mihinare o Aotearoa* (1989) 390.

so that they 'let their light shine before others.'[1] In addition to such prayers and actions, there will be the influence of preaching, hymnody and other music, and the whole range of formative experiences offered by way of catechesis. Experiments with various forms of catechumenal formation in different parts of the Communion usually include a community's commitment to help catechumens have significant experience in various forms of intentional Christian ministry. One begins as one intends to continue.

Being of service, striving for justice and peace, letting one's light shine, and so forth express dimensions of the New Testament's teaching about *diakonia*. New understandings of that term continue to be discovered. The work of John Collins, a Roman Catholic, is instructive.[2] He maintains that commonly understood meanings of *diakonia* display an undue reliance upon the narrow definition of the term in Kittel's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*.[3] In this view *diakonia* refers to active loving service of one's neighbour. Kittel and his antecedents stressed that *diakonia* referred originally to the humble service of table waiting. As a result, those who used the term as a referent for Christian ministry intended that everything done in the name of Christ should be characterized by a similar selfless service.

Collins enlarges our understanding of *diakonia* by pointing out that in the time of the early church the term also referred to the services of intermediaries or 'go-betweens', agents empowered by someone, commissioned to act on their behalf. This '*[d]iakonia* seems more concerned with apostleship than with our present understanding of the diaconate.'[4] At the same time, however, it must be remembered that a go-between is engaged in an act of service for another. Collins' work is a helpful expansion of a term which refers to a great many functions in the New Testament and the early church. A corrective on some of his emphasis, however, may be found in the study of James Monroe Barnett.[5]

Barnett discusses the variety of ministries within the early church as existing within an organic society. The Spirit is the empowering source of all the ministries within the church which was sent into the world with power and authority to save. 'All are sent for *diakonia*, for ministry, that is exercised foremost in service to others.'[6] This quality of service came to be focused in the specialized ministry of the *diakonos*. For Barnett the office of deacon was without pagan or Jewish antecedents, emerging rather from the nature of the Church of Jesus Christ, who came not to serve but to serve.[7] The history of the development and decline of deacons is traced in no little detail by Barnett.[8] This is the context in which to understand the church's diaconal ministry.

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[1] Many Provinces include this option: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Papua New Guinea, Tanzania, the United States, Wales, the West Indies.

[2] John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1990).

[3] Gerhard Kittel, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans, and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1964-76).

[4] *Hanover Report of the Anglican-Lutheran International Commission: Diaconate as ecumenical opportunity* (Anglican Communion Publications, London, 1996) 7.

[5] James Monroe Barnett, *The Diaconate: A Full and Equal Order*, (Trinity Press, Valley Forge PA, rev. ed. 1995) 20-27.

[6] Barnett 27.

[7] Barnett 28-42.

[8] Barnett, chapters 4-6.

Current practice and understanding of the diaconate reflect the decline Barnett depicts. So familiar are we with the *cursus honorum* and sequential ordination and sequential ordination that we take it for granted that all to be ordained presbyters will first be ordained deacons. In practice, this is a 'larval' stage in which the prospective presbyter serves a kind of apprenticeship after a successful completion of academic training for ministry. Certain notions, too, about the indelibility of orders lead many presbyters to assert that they, in fact, 'continue' to be deacons despite the fact that their primary vocational desire was to be presbyters, that they do presbyterial work, that they function in the liturgy as presbyters and in any other respect that one can think of do nothing that could be considered to belong to a distinctively diaconal office. A slight nuance is needed here since some people, especially some Anglo-Catholics, do vest as deacons at the liturgy. The fact of 'still being a deacon' means that one has the right to dress the part. One has to wonder whether this 'continuing diaconate' is related to the desire to maintain the pleasing symmetry of three sacred ministers at High Mass, an ecclesiastical version of trying to find a fourth for bridge! A more significant factor, however, is that many presbyters do, in fact, engage in all sorts of *diakonia*. The fact is adduced to prove the reality of a continuing diaconate. Thus, for many, the restoration of a permanent diaconate seems moot.

Of course, it should not be surprising that presbyters carry out diaconal work. What would be surprising would be if committed Christians of any order somehow determined that they were free of the baptismal covenant's call to ongoing diaconia. The work of many of the ordained does in fact look a great deal like the work of what the Hanover Report offers as a 'general description' of diaconal ministers: 'Diaconal ministers are called to be agents of the church in interpreting and meeting needs, hopes, and concerns within church and society.'[1] The Report recognizes the fluidity and variety of forms that diaconal ministry has taken in the churches but notes that 'service typically forms the central emphasis of diaconal ministry.'[2] There are few presbyters who would wish to deny the service dimension of their vocation.

Yet even while presbyters give at least lip service to a baptismal ecclesiology and decry attempts to collapse into their own roles what is generally called 'lay ministry', there seems to be little collateral unwillingness on the part of the presbyterate to continue to claim to itself the entire ministry of deacons. Again, to be clear, *diakonia* is something given in baptism. To be a *diakonos*, however, is to be a focused ministry through which the church is able to give expression to its *diakonia*. While the active ministry of deacons inevitably varies, particularly as our understandings of *diakonia* continue to evolve, our common reflection on the nature of that ministry will be impaired if its liturgical expression is compromised by presbyters acting as deacons. To do so is to undercut the very sign value that is at the heart of our symbolic actions.

To insist on the indelibility of one's ordination as a deacon while yet living as a presbyter is to refuse to admit the implications of a baptismal ecclesiology. That ecclesiology refuses to understand sacraments in narrow terms of form and matter, of the particular 'moments' which 'make' the sacrament and ensure its validity, and, in the case of ordination, of a concentration on a static notion of order which persists regardless of its living connection to an organic body that gathers to celebrate and deepen its life. In the liturgy, we bless God, giving God thanks for the true nature of things that we receive at God's hand, and thus make them to be what they are. To abstract from the liturgy a notion like 'indelibility' is to reduce a sacramental action to one 'phenomenon'. When we do that we end up raising more questions than we answer.

[1] Hanover Report, Section 26.
[2] Hanover Report, Section 53.

By regarding the life of the church as fundamentally baptismal, we affirm it to be a mystery, hid with Christ in God. The liturgy points us beyond mere categories of functionality in this world to the coming reign of God, where *there is neither male nor female, Greek nor Jew, slave nor free.* Our world is not abandoned or destroyed, but rather taken up and transformed into the kingdom. In that fullness, the Church shines with the radiance of a multiplicity of gifts and graces, *some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers* so that all achieve *the measure of the full stature of Christ.*

Part of the recovery of the kingdom dimension of the liturgy is found through the reverent use of the stuff of this world that becomes part of our symbolic action. Bread that corresponds to something recognizable as real bread is far more evocative of Christ as our true Food for both now and eternity. It awakens, too, the connections that must be made between that bread and the food or lack of it that is characteristic of human life now in this world. A taste of the kingdom stirs us to mission and justice now in the name of that kingdom. Similarly abundant water that can actually cleanse, refresh and even drown expresses vividly the entry into new life, and not simply life among human beings, but a life that has cosmic dimensions, in which our eyes are opened to see *this* life as being *in Christ.*

We call upon things of the material world to bear the weight of the glory of God for us. So too, human beings in the liturgy express that glory in divers ways. While the whole assembly is an icon of Christ, those in orders have particular ministries within the body which help sacramentally to express and deepen that reality. When the IALC in Dublin asserted that the 'liturgical functions of the ordained arise out of pastoral responsibility'[1] it was referring to eucharistic presidency. Nonetheless, the reality should hold true for the diaconate as well. Just what kind of sign, what kind of symbolic person do we think we are holding for the church when, too often, those who serve in the liturgy as deacons are either intending sooner or later to become presbyters, or are presbyters dressing up as something they are not?

The ordained, through a process of formation and the regular, committed practice of a particular way of life, undoubtedly find over time that their ordination has, as it were, 'taken', through the existential experience of repeated choices. When such persons participate in the liturgy people can see some congruence between the sign action they perform in worship and what they do in the rest of their lives.[2] Viewed from the perspective of the liturgy, the church can only be well served if those who are carrying out the liturgical actions of deacons arise out of their ministry apart from the liturgy. Without rehearsing all of the liturgical functions of deacons, let us recall some few that may help us to envision a church in which such dimensions of worship (*leitourgia*) and service (*diakonia*) are regularly experienced and witnessed within its life. The bidding of the prayers of the people (a crucial action of the eucharist and one generally needing much renewal) by the deacon is a privileged moment of bringing to the prayerful consciousness of the assembly the needs of the poor, the sick, the aged, prisoners and all who suffer. Those prayers would take on new life if they were regularly bid by those whose ministries are devoted to being the special agents of the church in humble service. Similarly, the reading of the Gospel by the deacon, like the proclamation of the Exultet at Easter, arises naturally from a ministry as servants of the church and witnesses to the world. The deacon as a symbolic person recalls the assembly to its own character as servants of Christ. The church has long known that we need symbols as a means to bring to expression our experience, and by so doing to enter into deeper discovery of the truth of our lives in God's light. We need to see and experience human lives that both express and are increasingly shaped by their ordination to ministries of service, so that we may all discover anew our own calling to the *diakonia*.

[1] Principles and Recommendations 6.

[2] This is not to say that one must be 'worthy'. There is always a gap between the ideal and the actual in anyone's life. Nevertheless, the church entrusts to some of its members the pain and privilege of living publicly with that gap.

# 8. The Practice of Ordination: Distinguishing Secondary Elements from Primary

by Louis Weil

It is generally agreed by all commentators that by the later middle ages the ordination rites of the Western Church had become extremely complicated and even confusing as to what was taking place in the rites at what point.[1] The simplicity of early patterns of designation for pastoral ministry, involving the presentation of candidates to the local Christian community for their approval, followed by the laying on of hands with prayer, had, by the ninth century, begun to show diverse ceremonial developments. The ordination rites became an amalgam of Roman and Gallican customs with the effect of ritual duplications which obscured the clarity of the early model. The insertion of new ritual elements, such as the anointing of the candidate's hands, the presentation of chalice and paten, and the clothing with the vesture and insignia of the order, further contributed to obscuring the primary aspects of the ordination rites.

One result of the excessive complexity of the medieval rites was an often intense debate among theologians as to what constituted the essential matter of the ordination rite. The primary focus of this debate was, not surprisingly, the rite of ordination to the priesthood, the order which theologians had come increasingly to view as to the highest order of ordained ministry, since the understanding of the episcopate as a distinct order had been generally lost.[2] Although some theologians maintained the ancient view that the essential matter and form were the laying on of hands with prayer, others taught that it was the delivery of the chalice and paten to the ordinand, and still others held that it was the anointing of the ordinand's hands.

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's response in the first English Ordinal (March 1550) was to cut through the long debate by crafting rites which clearly place the laying on of hands with prayer in primary focus. In his revision of the Ordinal in connection with the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, Cranmer further clarified the focus by removing the presentation of vessels and the giving of vesture and insignia, leaving only the delivery of the scriptures. At this point, however, the bishop said the following words:

> Take thou Authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in the Congregation where thou shalt be so appointed.

The sacramental aspect of the new ministry of the ordinand was thus maintained, but seen in tandem with the ministry of the Word rather than as a distinct or self-contained ministry. Cranmer's Ordinal, in both the 1550 and 1552 versions, demonstrates that significant influence of the Strasbourg Reformer Martin Bucer (1491-1551), whose treatise *De ordinatione legitima* had served as a primary resource for Cranmer in his work on the ordination rites. Whereas the later Middle Ages had seen a loss of the sense of the primacy of the laying on of hands as the essential matter of ordination, Cranmer thus recovered the early tradition in his Ordinal. This was a bold clarification given the weight of later medieval

[1] See, for example, Bernard Cooke, 'Sacramental Ministry in the Middle Ages', in *Ministry of Word and Sacraments* (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1976) 574-90.

[2] As late as this century, in the Roman Catholic Church prior to Vatican II, the Code of Canon Law (Canon 949), stipulated that subdiaconate, diaconate, and presbyterate were the three major orders. Cf. *Lumen Gentium*, 21.

opinion, including the teaching of Thomas Aquinas, that the delivery of the chalice and paten fulfilled that role.[1]

It is interesting to note that this debate continued in the Roman Catholic Church until the pontificate of Pius XII in this century, when the pope promulgated the Constitution *Sacramentum Ordinis* (30 November 1947). The concern of Pius in this document was to end debate in the Roman Church concerning the essential matter of ordination by determining, from that time onward, that the *only* rite pertaining to the essential substance of ordination would be the laying on of hands with prayer. Whatever had been accepted opinions in the past, Pius wrote, the handing over of the vessels would in the future 'no longer be required for the validity of the sacred orders of diaconate, presbyterate, and episcopate.'[2] Although it was felt at that time by many Anglicans and Roman Catholics that this decree pulled the rug out from under the rejection of Anglican Orders by Leo XIII, the document had no significant ecumenical impact. But it did affirm the sacramental and distinct character of the episcopal order, and thus reclaimed the ancient pattern of the three-fold ministry as Cranmer had done in his Ordinal, as well as to unite the Roman Church to the otherwise general consensus that the laying on of hands with prayer alone constitutes the abiding tradition of the Church in ministerial ordination.

If, then, such consensus exists among the majority of Christians, what can be said about the secondary rites which have tended to accrue around the primary action? The late liturgical scholar Bernard Botte wrote concerning these rites that they serve an explanatory purpose, 'to render explicit in gestures and symbols what is implicitly contained in the essential rite.'[3] Thus we need to consider these secondary rites and to enquire whether they serve a useful explanatory purpose or else tend to clutter the ordination rite and to obscure what we claim—the laying on of hands—as the primary action. These rites are very distinct in their origins and intentions, and so a single judgment cannot address them as a whole. They include clothing the ordinand in the appropriate vesture of the order to which they have been ordained; the presentation of a bible, or New Testament, or even a book of the Gospels; the anointing of the hands of the ordinand, followed by the presentation of a paten and chalice containing bread and wine; and, in the case of an episcopal ordination, the presentation of regalia associated with that office.

At least in part, these secondary rites may be understood as signs of the gradual clericalization of the liturgy which began as early as the fourth century, but which had reached a very significant level by the ninth and tenth centuries. The celebration of the eucharist, which had been experienced as the action of the entire assembly by the early Church, had gradually come to be seen as the private domain of the ordained priest, with the laity increasingly seen as, at best, passive and non-essential observers of the sacred actions of the ordained. This perception of the eucharist had an inevitable impact upon the

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[1] See the discussion of Kenan B. Osborne, O.F.M., in *Priesthood. A History of the Ordained Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church* (Paulist Press, New York, 1988) 204-16. The teaching of Thomas Aquinas on this issue reads: 'The conferring of power is effected by giving something pertaining to their proper act. And since the principal act of a priest is to consecrate the body and blood of Christ, the priestly character is imprinted at the very giving of the chalice under the prescribed form of words.' *Summa theologiae*, Supplement, q. 37, a. 5.

[2] *Sacramentum Ordinis*, 4

[3] 'L'ordination de l'évèque' in *La Maison-Dieu*, 98 (1969) 114.

ordination rites which became, for all orders of the medieval Church, explicitly interpreted with regard to their relation to the eucharistic celebration. Thus, in the case of the priesthood, the whole meaning of presbyteral ministry was focussed upon the priest as the offerer of the eucharistic sacrifice, and the ordination rite came to reflect that by introducing an anointing of the hands which would offer the sacrifice, and then placing into those hands the elements and vessels which would become the instrumental means of the sacrifice. In that context, all other dimensions of the earlier tradition of presbyteral ministry, such as pastoral care and mission, and the ministry of the word, were ignored.

It is not surprising that the reaction of the Reformers was to replace this focus with a renewed emphasis on the ministry of the word and preaching as offering the appropriate and fuller framework for the meaning of ordained ministry, and thus to substitute the presentation of the bible for that of chalice and paten. One cannot help but wonder if, in Anglican churches where the anointing of hands and presentation of vessels take place, there has been a conscious adherence to the underlying theology of these acts which is so alien to the priorities of the Anglican tradition. Again, it is a useful perspective to note how, in recent Roman Catholic documents on ordained ministry, a larger theological horizon has been reclaimed.[1]

The anointing of the ordinand's hands and the presentation of chalice and paten each raise important theological issues regarding the meaning of ordination. The anointing of hands implies, and in its origins was intended to imply, that in ordination the ordinand was receiving a higher dignity than that given in baptism. The custom was introduced at a time when the role of the laity in the Church was marginal at best and when ordination to the priesthood offered an intensity of identification with Christ which baptism alone could not give.[2] Given the significant recovery in this century of the fundamental role of baptism in the lives of all Christians, it would follow that ordination is not a higher dignity than that received in baptism, but is rather an explicit designation within the baptismal mystery in which the Church responds to the discernment of special gifts for pastoral leadership by ordaining those persons and thus publicly proclaiming God's call to them for ministerial service. In this perspective, ordination rites must be crafted so that no diminution of the baptismal identity is implied.

As we have observed, the presentation of chalice and paten became a part of the ordination rite at a time when the whole meaning of priesthood was defined in terms of the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice. It is also an example of the tendency throughout the middle ages to objectify the sacred in holy things rather than to recognize the holy dimension of sacred actions. The chalice and paten thus represented objectively what was understood as the central meaning of the eucharist. Is not the relation of the newly-ordained priest to the eucharist more fully embodied when the ordinand stands beside the bishop during the proclamation of the eucharistic prayer, and later, during the years of priestly ministry, in presiding at the eucharist as it is celebrated by the whole assembly of the baptized?

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[1] Note the useful discussions found in: Jean Galot, S.J., *Theology of the Priesthood* (Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 1984) 129-53; and in: Osborne, *Priesthood*, 307-342. For a perspective on the origins of these customs, see Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy*, (Pueblo, New York, 1982) 86-90; 107-9.

[2] This view continues to have its defenders. Cf. Galot, 'The Priesthood of the Faithful and the Ministerial Priesthood' in *Theology of the Priesthood*, 105-28.

The clothing of the ordinand with the traditional vesture of the new ministry is a quite distinct custom. Most of the laity whom the ordinand will serve will not have been at their pastor's ordination. Indeed, the majority of laity have never attended an ordination. Vesture is thus an outward expression of the ministry which the ordinand has been called to fulfill, and, needless to say, that vesture should always correspond in the liturgical celebration to the real order the person holds in the community. Vesture should never be a kind of liturgical charade, with a priest pretending to the order of a deacon.

Yet questions remain about the vesting of the ordinand during the ordination rite. Sometimes the vesting is given so much time and attention that it seems to overwhelm the significance of the laying on of hands. Certainly if the vestments are to be blessed, this should take place, as the American BCP (1979) specifies, prior to the service. We must question, however, if it is appropriate for the ordinand to enter already vested, since that erodes the integrity of the central action of the ordination rite. The vesting, and any giving of insignia—such as the staff or ring to a new bishop—should be done with such simplicity that the laying on of hands with prayer is unrivalled as the primary moment of the ordination.

In the history of the liturgy, we may find many examples of an all-too-human tendency to overload and clutter our rites. Ordination has been a special victim of this tendency, and for the sake of a spiritually sound understanding of what these rites signify, it is crucial that secondary elements be clearly distinguished from what is primary.

# 9. International Anglican Liturgical Consultation

## Conference on Ordination, 4-9 August 1997

### Reports of the Working Groups

A THE NATURE OF ORDER

*Ecclesiology*

1 We affirm a baptismal ecclesiology as the proper context for understanding the nature of Christian ministry, as expressed in the ecumenical document, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*.[1]

*Ecclesiology: Baptism*

2 We affirm the Toronto IALC statement (Section 2) that baptism is the fount of all Christian ministry.[2]

3 Baptism is a sign of the goodness of all creation and of the dignity of all human persons as created in the image of God. It manifests the birth pangs of the new creation and the new life of God's reign embodied in the baptized who are sent out in ministry with a mission to all creation. Baptism tells us who we are and who we are becoming.

4 As new birth through water and the Holy Spirit and participation in Christ's death and resurrection, baptism is a sign of the reign of God and manifests the radical change that is at the heart of the new creation. Baptism summons the whole church to identify with the costly self-offering of Christ for the sake of the world. Following his baptism, Jesus proclaimed his prophetic ministry (Luke 4.16ff). So through their baptismal anointing with the Spirit, the people of God are empowered to proclaim the liberating gospel to the poor and oppressed.

*Ecclesiology: Mission and Ministry*

5 The mission of the baptized is to summon the whole human race to their dignity and destiny given in God.

6 As the Toronto IALC statement concerning God's mission and the ministry of all the baptized says,

> Mission is first and foremost God's mission to God's world. 'As the Father has sent me, even so I send you' (John 20.21). This mission is made visible in the person and work of Jesus and is entrusted by him to the church.
>
> 'When the Advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who comes from the Father, he will testify on my behalf' (John 15.26). The primary agent of mission is God the Holy Spirit, who brings into existence a community of faith to embody this mission and to make God's new order manifest in a broken world. 'You will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses' (Acts 1.8; cf. John 15.27). The church needs the empowering of the Spirit to play its part in God's mission; it is called to proclaim the gospel, nurture people in the faith, care for the needy, and seek to transform the unjust structures of society.
>
> All that the church does is expressive of this mission, when it is true to its nature. This must be so of its worship. As the church remembers its calling and waits on God in prayer, it is empowered for mission. Baptism in particular declares the gospel of God's saving love in Christ, establishes the church as Christ's body, and marks the individual

[1] *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* [BEM], [Faith and Order Paper No.111] (WCC, Geneva, 1982).
[2] *Walk in Newness of Life*, Section II: Baptism, Mission and Ministry, 9.

believers as those called to participate in the work of the kingdom . . .

. . . the whole church is formed as a participatory community, one whose members share life with one another, while at the same time being conjoined to the missionary purpose of God for which baptism calls the community into existence. Through the lens of baptism the people of God begin to see that lay ministry is important not simply because it allows an interested few to exercise their individual ministries, but because the ministry and mission of God in the church is the responsibility of all the baptized community.

'For as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For in the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit' (1 Corinthians 12.12-13). Baptism affirms the royal dignity of every Christian and their call and empowering for active ministry within the mission of the church. The renewal of baptismal practice, with a consequent awareness of the standing of the baptized in the sight of God, therefore has an important part to play in renewing the church's respect for all the people of God. A true understanding of baptism will bring with it a new expectancy about the ministry of each Christian. It will also provide an important foundation for allowing different Christians their true and just place within the life of the church. This is of particular significance for categories of Christians who are marginalized by church or society. Baptism gives Christians a vision of God's just order; it makes the church a sign and instrument of the new world that God is establishing; it empowers Christians to strive for justice and peace within society.[1]

7 It should be noted that care for all creation, is included among the marks of mission identified by the Anglican Consultative Council.[2]

*Order*

8 The people of God in a place gather in prayer to proclaim the word, baptize and celebrate the eucharist. These actions shape the people of God as church. The church is a Spirit-filled community in which different charisms are given by God to every member. These gifts are for the building up of the body and the common activity of mission.

9 Within the Spirit-filled body, some are called to specific ordained ministries in order that the whole people of God might be a royal priesthood. God's call to ordained ministry must always be discerned within a particular Christian community. By ordaining these individuals, the church authorizes these persons to exercise their ministry in a particular community on behalf of the universal church (Ephesians 4.11-16).

10 The historic three-fold order serves as a way of symbolically ordering the people of God for mission. The Anglican tradition has always maintained this three-fold order, although the particular expression of these orders has been variously interpreted in different historical and cultural circumstances.

11 While this three-fold order is intended to serve the unity of the people of God in mission, the fact that some in the Anglican Communion do not recognize the ordained ministries of women has led to a situation of impaired communion within and among Provinces.

12 Within the community of the baptized, the three orders of ministry are called to reflect in different ways the self-giving love of Christ which all Christians are to manifest in the world.

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[1] *Walk in Newness of Life*, Section II: Baptism, Mission and Ministry, 9.

[2] Section Report on Mission, Culture and Human Development in *Mission in a Broken World. Report of ACC-8: Wales, 1990* (ACC, London, 1990) 101.

13 Within our contemporary contexts, and in the light of a baptismal ecclesiology, these orders might be considered in the following manner:

*Episcope* is the focus of unity of the common life, worship and mission of the body of Christ, both in the diocese and in communion with the world-wide church. While this is often described as 'oversight,' it must not be understood in hierarchical terms. Episcope mirrors to the community the universal and inclusive nature of Christ. Within the church, the order of bishop seeks to ensure that all the gifts of the body work together to achieve its God-given purposes. There is no authority in the church except that which is service. As Augustine of Hippo said, 'When I am frightened by what I am to you, then I am consoled by what I am with you. To you I am the bishop, with you I am a Christian. The first is an office, the second a grace; the first a danger, the second salvation.'[1]

The presbyterate (commonly called priesthood), a shared responsibility exercised under the authority of the bishop, expresses Christ's ministry of reconciliation (2 Corinthians 5.18), and involves exercising episcope and proclaiming the gospel so as to forward God's mission in a particular community. This office includes various ministries and pastoral relationships which are focused in the act of presiding at the eucharist.

*Diakonia* is the servant ministry of Christ which the whole people of God are called to enact in their daily lives. This diakonia is given particular focus in the order of deacon, although all ministers, ordained or not, must address and engage personal and social need. In parts of the Communion, the order of deacon is being revived as a distinctive office to which one is ordained without anticipating subsequent ordination to the presbyterate. A helpful discussion of this renewal of the diaconate is contained in the 1996 Hanover Report of the Anglican-Lutheran International Commission: *Diaconate as Ecumenical Opportunity*.[2]

14 As the Anglican Communion embraces a baptismal ecclesiology, Provinces may need to review their constitution and canons and other ways of structuring their common life so that these more fully reflect an understanding of baptism as the basis for the church's life, worship, ministry and mission.

*Order: Cultural shaping*

15 The way in which the church, the people of the new creation, orders its life for mission and takes up the symbolic order of the historic or catholic tradition is profoundly affected by culture.

16 Culture refers not simply to styles of celebration, performance, greeting, etc., important as these are. It is a complex and evolving symbolic system that arises as a people pursue their life within, and are shaped by, God's creation in a particular place. Cultures involve social style, conceptual and material symbols, the technologies that sustain life and the media of communication. They include the way people are present to themselves and to each other in community. Equally they are expressed in the way in which leaders emerge within communities, are acknowledged and exercise their relationships and role.[3] In the Anglican Communion it is common for structures of decision-making and styles of leadership to reflect, at least to some extent, the parallel structures of society.

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[1] *Sermon* 340,1. *PL* 38, 1438.

[2] Anglican Communion Publications: London, 1996.

[3] For example we heard that in the church in Melanesia a retiring bishop hands over his pastoral staff to the incoming bishop during the liturgy as a sign of the transmission of *mana*. According to Mircea Eliade, in many Polynesian languages *mana* is the state of being that is enjoyed by those who benefit from a strengthening divine influence. A primary mark of *mana* is outstanding effectiveness in action.

17 Cultures, despite other impressions, are not intrinsically static or isolated. They are subject to influence from the past (see the section on historical legacy below) and also to the impact of other cultures. Particularly important for many cultures in the Anglican Communion is their memory of a colonial era. Also significant is the way cultures respond to the powerful technological and economic culture which originated in industrial and post-industrial societies.

18 Young people and their culture, as well as the educational institutions that form them and the economic factors that shape their involvement with—or exclusion from—society are important. Patterns of selection, formation and ordination of deacons and presbyters that do not take this cultural dynamic into account fail the church as it seeks to relate to changing culture.

19 The moves in many Provinces to ordain local or community priests have the potential to engage more directly with culturally accessible styles of leadership. Ambivalence about traditional formational institutions needs to take account of two factors. First, they often have the task of remedying defective initial or catechumenal Christian formation. Second, the complex history of Western institutions on which they are often modelled combine at least two strands: an ancient and wide-spread tradition of being formed in apostolic discipleship by membership in a community engaged with the holy scriptures, and a more recent tradition of education based on the supremacy of reason and technology as an instrument of personal and social advancement. Churches need to evaluate for themselves the impact of these different modes of formation for ordained ministry.

20 Many Provinces of the Anglican Communion are situated in cultures where society is perceived as a religious body permeated by a sense of the God or gods by whom the life of the community is sustained. This will influence the form of corporate acts of the faith community and will interact strongly with their modes of liturgical celebration. Such cultures may also have strong traditions of how leadership is expressed and may view their leaders as personally embodying the well-being of their people (and even their relationship with the sacred). Great discernment is necessary in evaluating how the gospel embraces and challenges such patterns. For example, it should not be assumed that the informal style of address common in Western post-industrial culture arises from gospel values or should be normative for other cultures. Styles of leadership, and therefore of recognition and appointment, need to respect as well as redeem culture.

21 Western post-industrial (and post-modern) culture poses different dilemmas for the cultural embodiment of the ordering of the Christian community. In a fragmented society many are tempted to live within a self-defining community without recognizing or valuing broader community narratives or realities. Particular care should be given to honouring the Gospel vision of the new creation in which many cultural realities together form the body of Christ, the people of God in a place. 'Place' itself needs to be understood partly as a mechanism of social organisation which may ignore or screen out unwanted social reality, such as the poor on the doorstep.

22 One of the factors that is reshaping the way in which ordained ministry is embodied is the desire to liberate the community of the baptized for their mission. Another is the operation of financial and other resource constraints. Churches need to discern when such pressures reflect the voice of the Holy Spirit speaking through created reality, and when a more heroic and whole-hearted discipleship is needed.

23 The way in which the created reality of gender (Genesis 1.27. 'male and female created he them') is received in different societies varies and is characterized by particularities arising from life in that society and by distortions in which sin and oppression are incorporated into the social structures. Shifting patterns of the social ordering of gender can be the source of strong feelings, as can questions of how society or church relate to individuals who do not conform to the received gender patterns. This is reflected in the strong emotional reaction to

both the ordination of women and also to the increasing recognition of gay and lesbian people within the ordained ministry. Interaction between cultures may further distort the humane reception of gender or may catalyse a move for human liberation. In any context the impact of the Gospel of Jesus Christ should affirm and liberate people's created humanity while valuing healthy communal life.

24 The rich and sometimes bewildering culture that emerges in the life of the church can both sustain and stifle the vitality of the church, as well as affect the way in which the church is perceived by those outside. This, in itself, needs to be reflected on in the consideration of order and the celebration of ordination.

*Order: Historical Legacy*

25 There are a number of aspects of past inculturations and configurations of the classic or catholic symbolic order which continue to influence current thinking and practice and so need to be evaluated. The list that follows is not intended to be exhaustive, and does not imply approval or disapproval:

a A canon of the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) lays down that a bishop should be ordained with the consent of as many bishops as possible and in the presence of at least three bishops. This was in contrast, for example, with the tradition of presbyteral ordination of the bishop which had previously operated in Alexandria. It had the effect of identifying orthodoxy and continuity of doctrine with a particular procedure for episcopal ordination and has shaped subsequent views of apostolic succession. It raises questions of how the continuity of apostolic community is ensured and expressed.

The Porvoo Agreement of the Anglican Provinces of Britain and Ireland with certain national Lutheran Churches in northern Europe, and also the proposed concordats in North America[1], have sought to broaden the understanding of apostolic continuity and so provide an important commentary on the idea of apostolic succession. It is also important to recognize that for some apostolic succession functions as a sign and guarantee of a broader commitment to a sacramental liturgical life.

b As the presbyterate emerged as a more independent office within the landscape of church order, presbyters were given charge of individual congregations and came to be experienced by increasing numbers of people as the normal presiders at the eucharist and significant and immediate trustees of the theological tradition. Some would also argue that a link between the presbyter and the passion of Christ was later embodied in eucharistic presidency.

c Gregory the Great's Pastoral Care, an influential exposition of the pastoral office (primarily episcopal), conceptualizes oversight as governance or rule. This document has left a powerful political and ecclesiological legacy. It raises the question of whether the concept of 'rule' may be oppressive rather than liberating.

d Most of the early medieval Western church adopted a style of administration modelled on the structures of Roman government. This had an impact on the style of office and established an ethos based on Roman law as a prevailing idiom for church life and for relationships within the church. It also introduced Roman conceptions of authority and jurisdiction.

[1] *Together in Mission and Ministry: The Porvoo Common Statement with Essays on Church and Ministry in Northern Europe* (Church House Publishing, London, 1993); *Toward Full Communion and Concordat of Agreement* [Lutheran-Episcopal Dialogue, Series III] (Augsburg: Minneapolis MN, 1991); *Commentary on Concordat of Agreement* (Augsburg and Forward Movement, Minneapolis MN and Cincinnati OH, 1994); *Concordat of Agreement: Supporting Essays* (Augsburg and Forward Movement, Minneapolis MN and Cincinnati OH, 1995).

These developments significantly re-shaped the style and role of the episcopate, with bishops adopting characteristics from the civil magistracy and other high political office as well as a publicly recognized guardianship of the poor.

e The reforms of Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) sought to preserve the spiritual authenticity of the Christian community from absorption into the culture by treating clergy as a separate group in society and symbolically locating the transcendent character of the church in the office of the clergy. This radical extension of a biblical theme (cf. 1 Timothy 3.2ff) represented a partial withdrawal of the clergy from the social order and has continuing implications—for example, in the widespread view that clergy should not be directly involved in the shedding of blood.

f A number of questions should be asked about the development of ordered ministry in the period from the 11th to the 13th centuries. Were some of the characteristics of non-ordained monastic life (which some call apostolic) conflated with those of the presbyteral office at that time? Was preaching increasingly associated with the presbyteral office, at least in official reactions to the itinerant preaching of the friars, laying the foundation of a later (Reformation) identification of the presbyter as pastor-teacher and creating a link between the presbyterate and learning which found some of its rich expressions in the Benedictine and Dominican orders? What contribution did the model of the Benedictine presbyter-scholar provide for the spirituality of clergy in general? Did the appearance of the friars and other itinerant clergy at the beginning of the 13th century strengthen or establish the notion of a presbyteral or priestly 'character' of the office inhering in the person alone?[1]

g The Reformation, for its part, attempted to clarify the church's understanding of itself as a community created by God and under the word of God. It contributed to a new relationship of church and culture—which can be portrayed as authentic inculturation, as compromised subservience, as the onset of social marginalization of the church, or all of these. Further, the Reformation strengthens the image of the presbyter as minister of word and sacrament, a function more modest and biblical than the medieval priest's daily offering of the sacrifice of Christ in the oblation of the mass, but one which distanced him from an embodied identification with the passion of the Lord.

h A number of features of the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal continue to influence or challenge present understandings. The central place the Reformers gave to the public reading of scripture empowers the laity. It finds expression in the ordinal's emphasis on proclaiming and opening up the word of God, as well as in the use of the vernacular, the development of an extensive lectionary, and the presentation of the New Testament to deacons and the full Bible to priests and bishops at their ordination. The continuation of the traditional church order of bishop, priest, and deacon is itself expressed in the details of the ordination rites where deacons are ordained by the bishop alone as the ministers closely associated with him, and priests are ordained with the college of presbyters who are themselves seen as the pastors or shepherds of the church which is conceptualized as Christ's flock. The rites are framed so as to make clear how the catholic symbolic order and offices are to be exercised in the particular cultural context of Tudor and Stuart England.

The Book of Common Prayer carefully avoids a sacerdotal understanding of the presbyterate. Some would argue that Cranmer's continued use of the term 'priest' reflects not simply the etymological link with 'presbyter' but a deliberate echoing of Old Testament usage associating priests not primarily with the offering of sacrifice but with teaching and blessing.

[1] Edward Schillebeeckx, *Ministry: Leadership in the Community of Jesus Christ*, trans. John Bowden (Crossroad, New York, 1981) 33-74 and *The Church with a Human Face: A New and Expanded Theology of Ministry*, trans. John Bowden (Crossroad, New York, 1985) 115-119; 161-194.

The role of the Holy Spirit in ordained ministry is articulated in the liturgy, not least in the vernacular use of the Veni Creator. From a contemporary perspective, both the Veni Creator and the Litany set the act of ordination within the context of God's saving concern for the whole of the social and created order.

i The 17/18th centuries saw the further assimilation of the episcopal and presbyteral offices to the social order of society. Amongst other things this continues to influence the symbolic conceptualization of the office of bishop, with a link to the aristocracy and institutions of government. This period also radically accelerated the transfer of the earlier tradition of care for the poor from the church to the government and other organs of society.

j As the Anglican Church moved beyond the British Isles, forms of synodical government developed that brought together bishops, other clergy and laity in council. This happened first in the United States in the 18th century and expanded to other places in the 19th century, due in part to the influence of the missionary movement.

k The 19th century saw several developments which continue to influence modern understandings of ordained ministry:

a renewed emphasis on the ancient symbolic order of the church through the impact of the Oxford Movement, often interpreted in ways that have been problematic to other movements in the church;

the use by the Oxford Movement of the tradition of apostolic succession as a strategy to rescue the episcopal office from what its leaders regarded as improper subservience to the state, and so to recall the church to its spiritual dignity and apostolic faith;

the appointment of 'missionary bishops' as a primary means of establishing new churches and a consequent commitment to the pastoral role of bishops;

the adoption in 1886-1888 of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral with its reference to the 'historical episcopate, locally adapted' as one of the four pre-conditions for reunion with other churches.

*Further considerations*

26 In light of these theological principles and historical and cultural factors, we draw attention to the following issues for further consideration:

'presbyter' or 'priest': the term 'presbyter' was received in the English language as 'priest'. Some would argue that Cranmer's retention of the term was a reinterpretation of 'priest' as a pastoral office. Other languages use different terms with different connotations to denote this order. Which term(s) can best express contemporary understanding of this office? Perhaps a diversity of metaphors is needed.

Culture: how does culture impact on styles and patterns of leadership, formation processes and liturgies of ordination?

Sequential/direct ordination: must individuals always be ordained in sequence, that is, first deacon, then presbyter/priest, then (for some) bishop, or can individuals be ordained directly to the presbyterate or episcopate when that is the order the church recognizes as their primary calling?

Lay presidency at the eucharist: some propose permitting non-ordained persons to preside at the eucharist for various reasons, including the absence of ordained persons to preside in particular communities. This clashes with the received Anglican tradition that the presider must be ordained.[1]

[1] *Eucharistic Presidency: A Theological Statement by the House of Bishops of the General Synod* (Church House Publishing: London, 1997).

New patterns of ministry: the need for ordained leadership is prompting new patterns such as 'community priests' and locally ordained presbyters/priests and deacons. The emergence of such patterns highlights the tension between ordination only in a particular community and representation of the church universal.

Impaired communion: the fact that some in the Anglican Communion do not recognize the ministries of women who have been ordained presbyters and bishops has led to a situation of impaired communion within and among Provinces.

Diaconate: the revival of the diaconate as a full and equal order has been strongly encouraged in some places and questioned in others.

*Conclusion*

27 The reign of God which is revealed in Jesus Christ and manifest in the baptized community in its mission and ministry is a sign of the gathering of all races, peoples, and nations into the new creation. In its engagement of mission and ministry, the church always lives between memory and hope. The tradition of ministry and the three-fold orders is a living tradition, open to being shaped by God's future.

B IMPARTING MINISTRY WITHIN THE CHURCH: SOME THOUGHTS AND QUESTIONS OFFERED TO PROVINCES IN THEIR CONSIDERATION OF THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF ORDINATION RITES AND HOW THEY ARE CELEBRATED.

*Introduction*

28 During recent decades, many Christian traditions have come to a renewed understanding of the profound importance of baptism, not only as a rite of incorporation into the church but as the sacramental source of the church's ongoing life and mission. This recovery has far-reaching implications for every aspect of the Christian life, and raises significant questions about the ways in which ministry is understood, and more specifically how the ordained ministries relate to the common ministry of all the baptized. Some of the issues are:

a Does a baptismal ecclesiology provide a better way forward for constructing ordination rites which value the ministry of the whole people of God and set the ordination to particular ministries within that context?

b If baptism is foundational for our self-understanding as church, what might be the implications of that for addressing the clerical-dominant style in which many ordinations are celebrated?

c How does the assembly at an ordination engage in the rite with the expectation that what is being fulfilled in the life of the candidate is itself a mirror to their own self-understanding as the people of God?

d How might our theological concepts, which see scripture, baptism, and eucharist as foundational for the church's life and mission, help us to shape ordination rites that are congruent with that understanding?

e In what ways should the distinctive character of the orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon be reflected in the rites?

f How do ordination rites communicate the nature and place of orders in the church? If each rite says something significant and different about the place of that order within the ministry of the whole church, is it not preferable to avoid combining within one service ordinations to different orders?

g Location, choreography, and rubrical directions are important because they convey a theological perception about the nature of the ministry and how it is imparted. The way a

rite is celebrated can negate the theological intentions of a text. What general statements applicable across the Communion should we make which indicate some of the possibilities and dangers of this?

h Should there be encouragement to include in the general notes to the rites something about the need for balance between word and symbol (including body-language, movement, posture, arts, dance, and music)?

i How should local culture be reflected in ordination rites?

j In Provinces where both women and men are ordained, how adequately do ordination rites reflect this reality?

*Stages in Ministry and Rites*

29 God calls people to different ministries in a variety of ways. However the call comes, and to whatever ministry, a process of discernment begins which engages the whole body of Christ. Sometimes this process might lead to a clear call to a ministry that does not involve ordination. For those called to ordained ministry, the ordination rites themselves mark stages within the process. A number of other stages, which will vary from Province to Province and from order to order, might be envisaged, such as:

community nomination to selection,
community sending for (or supporting during) formal training,
acknowledgement of training/field placement,
a variety of provisions for recognition/reception of deacons and presbyters into the local community. Some deacons, for instance, will be returning to the community which sent them, others going to a new community.

It might be desirable to mark some or all of those stages—or others—with specific liturgical rites, as a way of focusing the integration of the different parts of the process with the prayer of the community and of the individual.

a Would it be helpful to have some material which could be used in this way, and if so, would full rites or simply resource material be the best way of making this provision?

b How should some indication of this process be included within the ordination services?

c What should the relationship be between the ordination rite and the more 'domestic' welcome, e.g., episcopal ordination when followed by 'enthronement' or installation?

*Gathering/Presentation*

30 The opening moments of any liturgical celebration greatly influence the way in which the entire rite will be understood by all participants. For this reason, what is usually called the entrance or gathering rite has, at an ordination, an important role to play in revealing the diversity of the various members of the assembly in their relation to the ordination candidates and to the wider constituency of the diocese or Province.

a What is the best way to indicate near the start of the service,
that the congregation is composed of a wide number of different groups, and
that this is an ordination service and that these are the candidate(s)?

b What guidelines regarding the choice of particular presenters would ensure that the candidate's rootedness in a particular community is signified, and that the whole church, lay and ordained, is involved in this action?

*Address (or Charge) and Declarations*

31 It has been the custom in Anglican rites since the Reformation for the ordaining bishop to address the candidate(s) with a set text as to the fundamental matters of faith and commitment to the responsibilities of pastoral leadership, and to describe the ministry to which the candidate is to be ordained. In this way, immediately before the ordination prayer, the assembly hears in this public context the candidate's resolve to fulfil the duties which are being undertaken. The inherited lengthy character of the bishop's address raises questions for us today as to how most effectively this preparatory element might be accomplished. For example:

a Are some elements of the address best dealt with at earlier stages of the rituals?

b Is there a need to recapitulate these earlier parts of the address in the main rites?

c Is it necessary for the address within the rite itself to be as full as in most Provinces?

d Would it help to split the address into three sections, with questions about the vocation and responsibility of the whole church at the presentation (at the start of the rite), questions about belief, intention, and commitment of the candidate before the ordination, and, at the conclusion of the rite, questions about the way in which the task ahead has been modelled, and will be exercised in and with the local community?

e Should the address be so worded as to be less didactic and more praise and prayer oriented at

the presentation,
the ordination,
the sending forth?

f Should there be fewer questions and answers? Should there be questions addressed to the congregation as well as to the candidate? And should anyone other than the ordaining bishop be involved in asking questions?

*Ministry of the Word*

32 The ministry of the word is a standard element in every Christian assembly. Some particular questions in relation to ordination rites might be:

a What should be the relationship between the lectionary for the day and the propers in the service?

b What would appropriately be included in a selection of readings for ordination rites?

c Should ordinations of bishops be only on feasts of apostles (as in some Provinces), or does this imply that it is only the ministry of bishops that is apostolic? Would it be helpful for certain days to be prescribed for ordination to particular orders?

d What factors should determine who should read and who should preach?

*Ordination Prayer*

33 We note the diversity within the Provinces of the Communion on how the prayer is treated. This section of the rite raises two principal concerns:

a How can the involvement of the whole church in the ordination be made more apparent by the participation of the congregation in prayers related to or in close proximity to the laying on of hands?

b How can the integrity and unity of the ordination prayer be maintained and any suggestion that ordination is effected merely by the recitation of a specific formula be avoided?

In relation to the first, an appropriate bidding together with one or more of the following might immediately precede the ordination prayer:

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[1] See Paul Bradshaw, 'Ordination as God's Action through the Church' (pp. 8-15 above).

—a litany for ministry
—the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* or some other invocation of the Spirit
—other prayer in dialogue form
—silence,

In relation to the second, since the difficulty is raised most acutely when more than one candidate is ordained on one occasion, some would propose that never ordaining more than one candidate at one time be considered. Others would suggest that as much as possible of the petitionary section of the prayer be repeated for each candidate while hands are laid on him/her. The unity of the whole act might be further expressed by the repetition of a response by the people (sung or said) during the prayer, and by the candidates remaining in one place throughout and those performing the imposition of hands moving to each one in turn.

34 Further concerns are raised by the content of the ordination prayer itself: should it include an acknowledgement of the ministries of all the baptized as well as the particular order being conferred, and seek to relate the latter to the former? Should it ask God for the bestowal of appropriate gifts of grace on the candidate for the effective discharge of the office rather than for the bestowal of the office itself and its powers?

*After the Prayer*

35 How should the welcome by the bishop, into the order, by the people be marked, for example by expressing the new pattern of relationships immediately after the ordination prayer with the bishop greeting the newly-ordained, followed by the greeting and later the Peace with the others present?

36 What opportunities should be provided in the rite to enable the newly-ordained to exercise the liturgical ministry of their order?

37 It is customary in many places for the newly-ordained to put on the specific vesture of their new order during the service. As this can obscure the primary symbolism of the laying on of hands if done in too close a proximity to it, would it be preferable for any vesting to take place in a simple manner after the Peace, as part of the preparation for the celebration of the eucharistic action? Some have suggested that another option might be for the candidates to enter already dressed in the vesture of their order.

For the same reason, would it be desirable for the giving of other symbols of office to take place at the end of the whole service?

*Sending Forth*

38 The focus at the end of the service should be on sending forth the newly-ordained to exercise their ministry in church and world, as part of a local baptismal community. It is important that any giving of secondary symbols at this point be subordinate to this primary aim.

a Should the range of secondary symbols be determined solely by local culture?

b Should any of this handing over of symbols or gifts be left to the reception/welcome rite back in the parish?

C ECUMENICAL QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE CHURCH: ORDINATION IN RELATION TO CHURCH UNITY REGIONAL CONTEXTS IN ANGLICANISM: WHAT HAS HAPPENED?

39 Already a variety of different agreements exist in a number of Provinces. Three churches are in full communion with all Provinces: the Old Catholic Church, the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, and the Philippine Independent Catholic Church. There are also the United Churches of South India, North India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. A fruitful outcome of these unions has been the production of new ordinals.

40 Anglicans in some places have been ready to recognize as truly ordained those who make no claim to an unbroken episcopal succession, as in the Porvoo Declaration, and also those who have been non-episcopally ordained, for example in the Southern African Covenanting Relationship. One outcome of these agreements is the mutual recognition of ordained ministries. This has been done, commendably, without ambiguous rites which could be open to interpretation as 're-ordination'. Furthermore, there are the numerous parish-based agreements allowed by canon in certain Provinces.

41 At the same time we are mindful of failed schemes in which Anglicans have participated. We realize that in some cases Anglicans have been the cause of breakdown.

42 We are also aware of our own internal impairment over issues of mutual recognition. This particularly arises over women presbyters and bishops. Such a situation within the Communion requires patience with mutual respect for all conflicting positions. We note the provision in the Church of England and the Church in Wales of extended episcopal care.

43 Some Provinces are approaching ecumenical unity by recognition of orders and then mutual consecration of bishops. This results in a parallel jurisdiction of two churches in ecumenical partnership, for example, Lutherans in Canada and the U.S.A. Situations of parallel jurisdictions exist within the Communion, some internal to a Province and some with churches in full communion, e.g., the three tikanga structure in the Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, and the conciliar unity between the Church of North India, the Church of South India, and the Mar Thoma Syrian Church.

44 The participation of former Anglicans in the China Christian Council is of a unique character.

*Regional Contexts: What is proposed?*

45 We are aware of talks at various stages around the world though our knowledge is incomplete. We draw particular attention to the promising approach in Wales which may be implemented in the near future.[1]

*Regional Contexts: Issues of Recognition*

46 Provinces develop ecumenical relationships according to their own contexts. This process is to be encouraged by all. We recognize that this can produce tensions across the Communion; this requires loving respect and thoughtful prayer.

47 The intention of dialogue is 'reconciled diversity not uniformity,' though not necessarily at the expense of the goal of organic unity. We regret previous attitudes by some Anglicans of triumphalism in particular with relationship to the episcopate.

[1] In 1975, five churches in Wales entered into a covenant for unity, recognizing one another as ecclesial communities with a common faith and common baptism. In East Cardiff, the Covenanting Churches have now identified an area comprising over 50,000 people where, after some years of growing together in union, there is need for specific episcopal oversight which each of the participating churches will recognize. Accordingly, a proposal is now before the synods of these churches to establish an ecumenical Bishop in Council, who will be ordained and authorized by representatives of the five churches (including the Church in Wales); ministers currently serving in the area would not require (re) ordination but would have their ministry recognized simply by virtue of its exercise in communion with the bishop.

*Ecclesial-Theological Considerations relative to ordained ministry: Present Ecumenical Convergence*

48 Significant ecumenical convergence has been reached on a variety of issues around ordination. These include:

a baptism as the foundation in which a theology of the ministry of the whole people of God is rooted;

b apostolic faith/tradition is fundamental to the nature of the church—'it is increasingly recognized that a continuity of apostolic faith, worship and mission has been preserved in churches which have not retained the form of historic episcopate'[1] Historic epicopate is a witness to but not a guarantee of a church's succession in apostolic faith/tradition;[2]

c different forms of ministry are based on different gifts (charismata) given by God for the mission of the church;

d in order to fulfil its mission, the church needs persons who are publicly and continually responsible for pointing to its fundamental dependence on Jesus Christ, and thereby providing, within a multiplicity of gifts, a focus of its unity. The ministry of such persons, who since very early times have been ordained, is constitutive for the life and witness of the church;

e ordination is always presided over by persons in whom the church recognizes the authority to transmit the ministerial commission by imposition of hands and prayer;

f ordination is accepted in most denominations to be for life;

g recognition of the true ecclesial status of other Communions precedes the mutual recognition of ministries.

Anglican consensus in these matters has been influenced by the multilateral document *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*, is reflected in such dialogues as ARCIC, Anglican-Orthodox, and Anglican-Reformed, and has born significant fruit in such agreements as Porvoo.

*Ecclesial-Theological Considerations: Issues Yet to be Resolved*

49 This emerging ecumenical convergence presents Anglicans with a number of issues yet to be resolved. These include:

a Provinces find themselves at different stages in committing themselves to or acting upon this emerging consensus;

b the traditional Anglican position that the orders of bishop, priest and deacon have existed from the beginning; that all three are necessary to be recognized as a church and that only a bishop in the historic succession can convey these orders;

c the understanding of episcope in relation to the episcopate;

d the place of the diaconate as a full and equal order in the three-fold ministry;

e the complementarity of ministries, lay and ordained, as well as the relationship of each of the three-fold orders to one another'

f the full implications of the ordination of women for mutual recognition of ministry within the Anglican Communion;

g refusal to ordain solely on the basis of sexual orientation;

h the nature of the jurisdiction and the experience of episcope of non-territorial bishops such as ethnic, suffragan, assistant, episcopal visitors and some Primates of the Anglican Communion;

i the question of authority and the exercise of power in the church, e.g. the nature and function of the 'Petrine ministry'.

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[1] BEM, Ministry IV.B.37.

[2] BEM, Ministry II.A.8

*Proposals*

50 In view of the above, we find it important:
- a to commend generally a methodological approach that has proven and is proving fruitful;
- b to signal some areas of concern or areas that we think need special or careful attention in regard to ordained ministry and church unity; and
- c to encourage further theological reflection and articulation of certain questions concerning the theory and practice of ordained ministry in the above discussion of regional contexts and ecclesial-theological considerations..

51 Thus, and in the order indicated:
- a Proposals for church unity will best begin with the mutual recognition of partners' sacramental baptism as set forth and practised in official liturgies. Ecumenical dialogue can then move to questions concerning recognition of the partners as churches, i.e., ecclesial bodies comprised of members sharing a common baptism. Thirdly, the dialogue can then move on from ecclesial recognition towards mutual recognition of ordained ministries, and, when that is in view, to their consequent interchangeability.
  - i With respect to the Roman Catholic international or national dialogues this methodology would go far in moving beyond the impasse represented for both sides by the 1896 encyclical of Leo XIII, *Apostolicae curae*, and the official reply thereto by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Overcoming the impasse will also be helped by a mutual recognition of twentieth century convergences in sacramental theology.
  - ii In dialogue with traditions featuring an episcopate without historic succession, this methodology will also prove most helpful in allowing the discussion to go forward.
  - iii With non-episcopal ecumenical partners, the same methodology would free Anglicans from unnecessary impasses created by the sheer fact of commencing dialogues at the point of attempting to reconcile ordained ministries.
  - iv With bodies having an episcopate of historic succession this methodology could very well encourage the partners to a mutual consideration of the nature and practice of their ordained ministries within their respective churches. They might also exhibit, on the basis of such discussion, a renewal of those ministries in their mutual life and mission through the relationship of full communion.
- b There are, however, a number of concerns raised by the members of this Conference that require attention or vigilance as ecumenical processes or proposals bear on questions of ordained ministry. In particular we note:
  - i Intra-ecclesial and inter-ecclesial issues of jurisdiction (e.g., parallel jurisdictions; extra-diocesan or extra-provincial bishops);
  - ii Clarity about the particular long-range or short-range ecumenical goal (e.g. unity by stages; full communion; organic union);
  - iii Proposals concerning 'direct ordination' and/or the disuse of one of the three orders maintained by the Anglican tradition;
  - iv The helpfulness beyond its specific context of the Anglican-Lutheran International Commission's 1996 Hanover Report. *Diaconate as Ecumenical Opportunity*, in addressing issues and questions surrounding renewal of the diaconate in ecumenical discussions between Anglicans and their dialogue partners.
- c Finally, we commend to all the need not only to articulate more fully the nature and practice of each of the three orders within Anglicanism, but to delineate also the complementarity of these orders within and for the church. We believe this task to be vitally important as a clarification for ourselves as Anglicans and as an important consideration for present and future partners in the ecumenical enterprise.

Jarvenpää 16 August 1997

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